

No. 238 / DECEMBER 1992



Horror & Hope



The Horn of Africa

**INSTITUTE
OF
ADVANCED
ARCHITECTURAL
STUDIES
UNIVERSITY
OF
YORK**

THIRD WORLD / ONE WORLD STUDIES

WE offer 12 month personalised research opportunities, whereby students study for their own needs and interests, bringing with them their ambitions, ideals and experience: a self-designed course.

The MA programme 'Built Environment in Third World Countries' can be started at any time during the year. It can be taken as a self contained one year exercise or as part of the longer doctorate programme.

There are five broad areas of interest:

Housing • Environment • Services • Appropriate Materials and Technologies • Organisation of Construction

Topics recently covered are:

• Project Management • Reconstruction after War • Urban Renewal • Low Income Housing • Conservation • Construction Productivity • City Building • Cultural Heritage • Ecological Design •

We seek a global student group for study at the Institute.

For more information, please write, phone or fax

**The Secretary, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies,
University of York, King's Manor, York, YO1 2EP, United Kingdom.**

Tel: 0904 433967 Fax: 0904 433949
(Prefix with +44 904 if dialling from outside the UK)

**POST-WAR
RECONSTRUCTION
&
DEVELOPMENT
UNIT
UNIVERSITY
OF
YORK**

**PLANNING & MANAGEMENT SKILLS FOR
RECONSTRUCTION AFTER WAR**

A two-week course for Government officials, emergency planners, engineers, environmental and social workers and refugee administrators from overseas.

5-16 July 1993

THE main objective is to equip participants with planning and management skills in the various phases of post-war reconstruction including emergency action, rehabilitation and reconstruction. The course is scheduled during the summer holidays to attract overseas students.

Course fee (without accomodation) £800.

For further information please write to:

**Sultan Barakat, Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit,
IoAAS, University of York, King's Manor, York, YO1 2EP, United Kingdom.**

Tel: 0904 433967 Fax: 0904 433949
(prefix with +44 904 if dialling from outside the UK)

**University of Manchester
INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT
POLICY AND MANAGEMENT**

The Institute for Development Policy and Management (IDPM) is an autonomous multi-disciplinary group within the University of Manchester. IDPM offers doctoral, Masters and advanced diploma programmes, see below; and a range of professionally oriented short courses.

- **PhD programme** – normally 3 years, including one year of fieldwork in a developing country.
- **Masters Degrees – 12 months**
MSc in Human Resource Development
MSc in Management and Implementation of Development Projects
MA(Econ) in Development Administration and Management
MA(Econ) in Economics and Management of Rural Development
- **Field-Based Academic Structures**
- **Post-graduate Diplomas – 9 months**
Diploma in Development Administration
Diploma in Training and Development for the Public Sector

For further details of courses offered by the Institute and application forms, please contact:
Publishing and Promotions Dept. (AD3.2) Institute for Development Policy and Management,
University of Manchester, Precinct Centre, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9QS
Tel: (061) 275 2804 Fax: (061) 273 8829 Telex: 66 9755 Office G att IDPM



**University of Bristol
MSc Course in
DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION & PLANNING**

A specialism within the course in Comparative Development and International Policy Studies. Modules offered include Anti-Poverty Planning; Rural/Urban and Industrial Development Policy and Planning; Social Welfare Policy; Planning models; Regional National and International Planning and Policy.

Intensive Courses of 2 to 12 weeks; part-time two years; full-time one year. Courses suitable for those interested in aspects of regional, national and international economic and social planning, policy-making and implementation in the developing countries.

For further information and application forms, please write to:

Professor Peter Townsend/Pervaiz Nazir, Department of Social Policy and Social Planning, University of Bristol, 8 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1TH.

Phone: 0272 303030 Ext 8532. Fax: 0272 288578.



ISSN 0305 9529

New Internationalist exists to report on the issues of world poverty and inequality; to focus attention on the unjust relationship between the powerful and powerless in both rich and poor nations; to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary within and between those nations if the basic material and spiritual needs of all are to be met; and to bring to life the people, the ideas and the action in the fight for world development.

The **New Internationalist** magazine is published by **New Internationalist Publications Ltd** which is wholly owned by the **New Internationalist Trust** and co-operatively run by: Vanessa Baird, Chris Brazier, Wayne Ellwood, Alan Hughes, Guy Montgomery, Gill Moore, Clive Offley, David Ransom, James Rowland, Sue Shaw, Debbie Simms, Kate Stott, Richard Swift, Dexter Tiranti, Jim Turner, Troth Wells. The **New Internationalist** magazine was founded by Peter and Lesley Adamson in 1970.

SUBSCRIPTION ENQUIRIES

Please write to your subscription office with full details including (if possible) your subscription number shown on the magazine address label. Please inform us of any change of address.

SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES AND ANNUAL PRICES

UK: 120-126 Lavender Ave, Mitcham, Surrey CR4 3HP. Tel. (081) 685 0372.

Individuals £18.40 p.a.; £5.40 qtlly.

Institutions £35 p.a.

Canada: 35 Riviera Drive, Unit 17, Markham, Ontario L3R 8N4. Tel. (416) 946 0406. Fax (416) 946 0410.

Individuals 1 yr – \$44.94 (includes \$2.94 GST)

Overseas (by air) 1 yr – \$50

Institutions 1 yr – \$62.06 (includes \$4.06 GST)

GST Reg No R121784854

United States: PO Box 1143, Lewiston, NY 14092. Tel. (416) 946 0406. Fax. (416) 946 0410.

Individuals 1 yr – \$42; Overseas (by air) 1 yr – \$50; Institutions 1 yr – \$58

Australia and PNG: PO Box 82, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065. Tel. (03) 419 7111.

Individuals A\$37.50; Institutions A\$47.00.

Aotearoa (NZ): PO Box 1905, Christchurch.

Individuals \$42 Institutions \$49 (includes GST).

Rest of the World: 120 – 126 Lavender Ave, Mitcham, Surrey CR4 3HP. Tel. (081) 685 0372.

Individuals £22; Institutions £40. Please pay in sterling by UK Cheque, Eurocheque, Visa, Mastercard or Banker's Draft. Despatch by air only.

EDITORIAL AND ADVERTISING OFFICES

UK: 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW. Tel. (0865) 728181. Fax. (0865) 793152. [Advertising: Tel. (0384) 373421. Fax. (0384) 441904]

Canada: 1011 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6H 1M1. Tel. (416) 588 6478. Fax: (416) 537 6435.

Australia: PO Box 82, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065. Tel. (03) 419 7111.

MAILINGS

Occasionally we allow organizations to mail our subscribers. If you do not wish to receive their material please write to your subscription office.

Cover and UK inside pages printed by Cradley Print Ltd, Warley, West Midlands.

North American inside pages printed in Canada by Webcom, Scarborough, Ontario.

The **NI** is distributed to the UK news trade by COMAG Specialist Division, Mercury Centre, Central Way, Feltham, Middlesex TW14 0RX. Tel. (081) 844 1000. Fax. (081) 751 2666.

The **NI** in North America (USPS 329-770) is published monthly by **New Internationalist Publications**, 1011 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6H 1M1. US 2nd class postage paid at Lewiston, NY. US Post-master send address changes to: The **NI**, P O Box 1143, Lewiston, NY 14092. US Office of Publication, Lewiston, NY 14092. Registered with Alternative Press Index.

Syndication/Permissions: Cover Stories, The Observer, Chelsea Bridge House, Queenstown Road, London SW8 4NN. Tel. (071) 350 3208. Fax. (071) 627 5570.

Reproduction of all material in **NI**, excluding photographs, is free for use by schools.

© **New Internationalist Publications Ltd.**

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Apply now for our new course:

M.ED. IN GENDER, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

which focuses on the relationship between education
and gender in the context of development.

Places are also available on the following Master's Degree Courses –
register in January, April or September
in any year for certain courses:-

Adult Education and Community Work
Applied Educational Research and Assessment
Audiology and Education of the Deaf
Communication and the Mass Media
Community Organisation for Rural Development
Development and Planning of Overseas Education
Education for Primary Health Care
Education for Rural Development
Educational Psychology
Higher/Teacher Education
Human Resource Development
Industrial Education and Training
Management and Administration of Education
Microprocessors in Education
Science and Technology Education
School/College Management
Special Education (International)
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
Large programme of Doctoral and M.Phil Degrees by research.
Short courses arranged in all subjects on request.

Write for further information to: Tina Baker, School of Education,
Dept NI, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL.
Telephone: 061-275 3463 Fax: 061-275 3519

Subscribe to The Environment Digest

'An invaluable and comprehensive round-up of environmental news stories
presented in a clear and highly accessible way.' Jonathon Porritt

monthly concise updates on global topics such as:

global warming and climate change...tropical forests ...wetlands
threatened habitats ...endangered species...energy
transport ...waste and recycling ...pollution

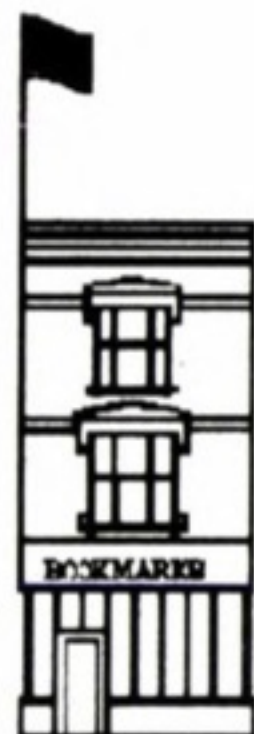
Available by subscription only
organizations £38.00, individuals £19.00
concessions (unemployed or student) £15.00
Subscribers outside UK please add £5.00
and ensure cheque is drawn on a UK bank.

Our subscribers include campaigners, journalists, business people,
politicians and researchers, libraries, teachers and students,
and concerned individuals from all walks of life.

Join them: reply now to

Environment Digest, 11-21 Sturton Street, Cambridge CB1 2QB, UK

Bookmarks The socialist bookshop



265 Seven Sisters Road,
London N4 2DE
Tel 081-802 6145
Fax: 081-802 3835

•we can get any book in print
•world-wide mail order service

•politics
•environment
•history
•women's
liberation
•Ireland
•trade union
•anti-racism
•fiction
•kids



STUDY AFRICA IN EDINBURGH

Edinburgh University's interdisciplinary MSc. in
African Studies (12 months full-time; 24 months
part-time) offers an individualised curriculum,
drawing on the resources of many of the 100 Africanists at
the University. Core course in either science-based or social
science subjects, plus approximately 20 options, which
range from Environment to Politics and Gender Studies to
African Religion. There is scope for in-depth case study and
project work.

For course booklet and more information contact:

Pravina King, Centre of African Studies,
University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, EH8 9LL, UK
Phone: 031 650 3878 Fax: 031 650 6535

(prefix with +44 31 if dialling from outside the UK)

EDINBURGH – ONE OF THE FINEST CITIES FOR POST GRADUATE STUDY



Postgraduate Development Studies in Manchester

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE

We specialise in interdisciplinary studies in economic,
social and political development.

Our MA/Diploma programmes in Development Studies are
ideal for good social sciences graduates who envisage a career
in development agencies or academic research. Candidates
with overseas experience also considered.

Contact: Martin Minogue, Director, International
Development Centre, University of Manchester, Manchester
M13 9PL Tel: 061 275 4794 Fax: 061 275 4929



GIVEN THE CHOICE,



wouldn't you invest your money 'ethically'?

If you are investing in a unit trust, a personal pension or a life
assurance, the fund behind it is probably holding the shares of
companies who do things you don't believe in.

Pacifists are investing in armaments firms, teetotalers in breweries.
ASH supporters are investing in tobacco conglomerates, environ-
mentalists in companies with a bad pollution record. And so on...

But it doesn't have to be that way.

Barchester specialises in targetting those investments which put
the energy of your money in the direction of your values. In the pensions
field, for instance, the longest established of these funds has outperformed
88% of all individual UK Growth pension funds over the last 7 years.

So 'ethical/green' investment doesn't have to be unprofitable.

And 'profit' doesn't have to be a dirty word.

Why not ring us (24 hrs) on 0722 331241, or send the coupon.



BARCHESTER
- Giving you the choice



To: **BARCHESTER Insurance & Investment**,
32 Market Place, FREEPOST, Salisbury SP1 1BR, UK.
Please tell me more about ethical/green options in personal finance.

Name: Address:

Tel:

Remember, the price of units can fall as well as rise and past performance is not a guarantee to the future.

**ARE YOUR
MAKING A**



**INVESTMENTS
KILLING?**

MICHAEL HAMILL

ETHICAL FINANCIAL SERVICES

AN APPOINTED
REPRESENTATIVE OF



9 MAYTREE CRESCENT, NORTH WATFORD,
HERTS WD2 6BW
TEL: 0923 677971 FAX: 0923 680771



MICHAEL HAMILL

INDEPENDENT SPECIALIST IN ETHICAL/GREEN INVESTMENTS.

THE YEAR OFF HANDBOOK

Just Published ... **THE YEAR OFF HANDBOOK** ... tells you how to get out of recession-hit Britain and spend up to a year travelling the world – **AND GET PAID FOR IT!**

HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO: Work as ground crew with Hot-Air Balloons in America, France or Switzerland? Ranch-hand in Australia? Spend the summer crewing on a yacht in the Mediterranean or Caribbean? Find well-paid jobs in Hong Kong or Singapore? Teach English in Japan? Work in a New Zealand ski-resort this summer – or in the Alps next winter? Help build schools & clinics in Botswana? Wildlife Conservation in Namibia? White-Water Rafting in Zimbabwe? Scuba-Diving in Malaysia? Or join expeditions in South America, Africa or Mongolia? Easter on a Kibbutz in Israel? Spend the summer on a travelling fair in the USA? Work with kids at an American summer camp? And Much, Much More ... all in **THE YEAR OFF HANDBOOK** ... never previously published.

Publisher's Note – Roger Jackson, the author of this detailed publication, has spent the last 8 years actually doing all of these things. Now he has written this guide showing how anyone 16-40 years old can enjoy similar experiences. **And enhance your CV & job prospects when you return. Order now – you won't regret it!**

For your copy of **THE YEAR OFF HANDBOOK** send cheque/PO for £9.95 (includes P&P) to: **Sabre Publishing Ltd, Sabre House, 129 Mercers Road, London N19 4PX.** Or telephone 071-281 9181 (24 hrs) for credit card orders.

TOURISTS NEED NOT APPLY!

- Divine water in the desert
- Track timber wolves in Minnesota
- Survey Norway's spectacular glaciers
- Seek new species in Australia's rainforest



Join us this winter for a fortnight tracing untapped water in the Sahel; radio tracking elusive wolves in lake country; researching global greenhouse impact on Norway's glaciers, or exploring for new life in Australia's rainforest. Two weeks is all you need; no special skills required.

Earthwatch is the world's largest charitable organisation matching paying volunteers with scientists who need help on their research and conservation projects. Membership of Earthwatch gives you exclusive access to over 400 teams in 40 countries. Our colour magazine and Project Briefings update you with the latest news and discoveries, plus invitations to meet the scientists and members that make them. Remember whether you are 17 or 70 - *the next discovery could be yours.*

Call us now or write (enclosing 24p stamp).

GIVE TWO WEEKS TO SAVE THE EARTH
EARTHWATCH

AN ADVENTURE YOU CAN FEEL PROUD OF

Belsyre Court/NI 57 Woodstock Road Oxford OX2 6HU

Tel: 0865 516366 (24 hours) Fax: 0865 311383

Oxford Boston Los Angeles Melbourne Moscow

Charity no: 327017



INDIA 1992/93

Ecotrails is an ethical tour operator working with Oxfam. As well as visiting the great attractions of India our tours offer a unique opportunity to see development projects at first hand. This is the first time a major Aid Agency has offered the chance to see how donors' money is spent. Our tours are thought-provoking, they challenge many myths about poverty in the developing world. For a brochure please write to:

**ECOTRAILS, 351 King Street,
Hammersmith, London W6 9NH
or call 081 846 9963
Fax 081 748 1034**



FULLY BONDED
DO257

EXILE IS NOT HOPELESS

Life in exile can mean homelessness, poverty, unemployment, uncertainty about immigration status, racial harassment and the loss of identity.

praxis

In Praxis we are creating an alternative. We have legal advice, help with housing, employment and language. We continue to work for human rights in our own

countries and keep our culture alive.

Coming from Somalia, Chile, Colombia, East Timor and other countries of the South, we do need your support and to share our experience with you.

thank you



A. Guerra

One World Tours

Learn about the Third World at first hand in Asia, Africa & Latin America. All our tours are run in partnership with NGOs or low-impact tourism agencies.

No fish 'n' chips, no 5 star hotels, just real insights and adventure. Be a responsible tourist and enjoy yourself!

Prices from £915

ONE WORLD TOURS (NI2),
80 Stuart Road, London SW19 8DH
Tel: 081 946 6295



- travels - through - time -

TRAVEL THROUGH TIME with **FRESCO** in 1993 to Iran, Jordan, Brittany, Egypt, Pompeii and other exciting destinations. Relaxing hotels, amazing archaeological sites and friendly companions. Brochure from **FRESCO, Dept W, 12 - 14 Hall Square, Denbigh, Clwyd, LL16 3NU, UK.** Tel: 0745 816268 (24 hours).

PRAXIS
POTT STREET
LONDON
E2 OEF.
TEL 071 729 7985
FAX 071 729 0134

I/WE ENCLOSE MY/OUR DONATION OF
£10 ☐ £20 ☐ £50 ☐ £100 ☐ OTHER £ ☐

I/WE WISH TO DONATE BY CHEQUE / POSTAL
ORDER OR DEBIT MY ACCESS / VISA

CARD No.

EXPIRY DATE

SIGNED DATE

C O N T E N T S

**Horror and hope in the Horn 4**

Richard Swift believes there is plenty to be optimistic about even amid the rubble of war.

Emergency report 8

The Somalia on our TV screens is all villains and victims but Tony Vaux uncovers hidden heroism in the struggle to survive.

Hunger myths 11**A traveller's notebook 12**

The editor hits the road in Eritrea and Tigray, hot on the scent of social change.

Ghebre's return 14

The warmth and pain of an Eritrean homecoming.

Native stranger 16

Eritrean women are fighting to protect what they won in the battle for independence. Elsa Gebreyesus reports from their new frontline.

THE HORN OF AFRICA – THE FACTS 18**Caught in the crossfire 20**

Arthur Howes lived with the Nuba of Sudan in better times. He traces their sad fate today.

No home on the range 22

The modern world is no place for nomads. John Galaty visits an old friend and witnesses the destruction of a sustainable way of life.

Simply – Food and famine 24**Howitzer culture 26**

An armed plague has been visited upon the Horn by cynical superpower politics, according to Alex de Waal's diagnosis.

Democratic elbow room 28

Horn activist Paulos Tesfagiorgis argues that development is not possible without human rights.

Letters 2**Letter from Lahore 3****Updates 29****Reviews: plus Graham Greene classic 32****Curiosities 34****Endpiece: by Nicola Gregory 35****Country profile: Ecuador 36**

FRONT COVER PHOTOGRAPHS: MERCENARY GANGS IN KISAMIO, SOMALIA TREVOR PAGE / PANOS. AND A WOMAN FROM HARARGE PROVINCE IN ETHIOPIA SEAN SPRAGUE / IMPACT VISUALS.

THIS MONTH'S THEME

The Horn of Africa

FROM THIS MONTH'S EDITOR

WHenever I travel I try and get my son, Joshua, a toy typical of the place I am visiting. I hope that this will ease the sting of absence and give him a sense of other places and ways of living. So when I went to Ethiopia and Eritrea to research this issue I was on the lookout for such a toy.

I found none. I should have known better. For most kids in the Horn of Africa there is no such thing as childhood. You see them working in the shops. You see them selling individual cigarettes or gum by the stick. Or beside the road, making sure the family herd of goats is not run over by a passing truck. To me this marked a clear difference – the necessities of survival intrude from the very start of life. Childhood as it is known in the North is a luxury.

I was wearing two hats in Africa this time – aside from my NI

editorial duties I was evaluating Oxfam-Canada's program in the Horn, exploring new directions for it given the quickly changing political situation.

Oxfam-Canada has a long history in the region. It was one of the first agencies in Canada to take the controversial decision to channel food aid to the rebel-held areas of Eritrea and Tigray. This at a time when most agencies and all governments officially refused to recognize the uncomfortable truth that in order to reach many of those most in need it was essential to bypass the Ethiopian dictatorship.

But yesterday's rebels are today's government – or at least this is the case in Ethiopia and Eritrea. So Oxfam's stock is high and this guaranteed us a warm welcome. I should hasten to add that the views and

analysis in this issue are not necessarily shared by Oxfam, though they would certainly welcome the remarkable sense of hope that I found in a region badly in need of good news.

I was blessed with two cheerful and diligent travel companions, Mel Peters and Ghebre Abbai – also both Oxfam volunteers. We kept each other honest with gentle abuse that lightened long hours bouncing around the back-country or periodic bouts of stomach complaint and air sickness. It was particularly important to have Ghebre along. Not only did he speak the language but his knowledge of the society – his own society – was an invaluable measure of the benchmarks of change.

Years earlier I had witnessed the horror of the war but from Ghebre I got a sense of what it had been like to live in occupied Eritrea – and the potential of its newly won freedom. He was moved not by abstract principle but by what made a difference in people's daily lives. This is as it should be if that much abused word 'development' is to have any meaning at all.



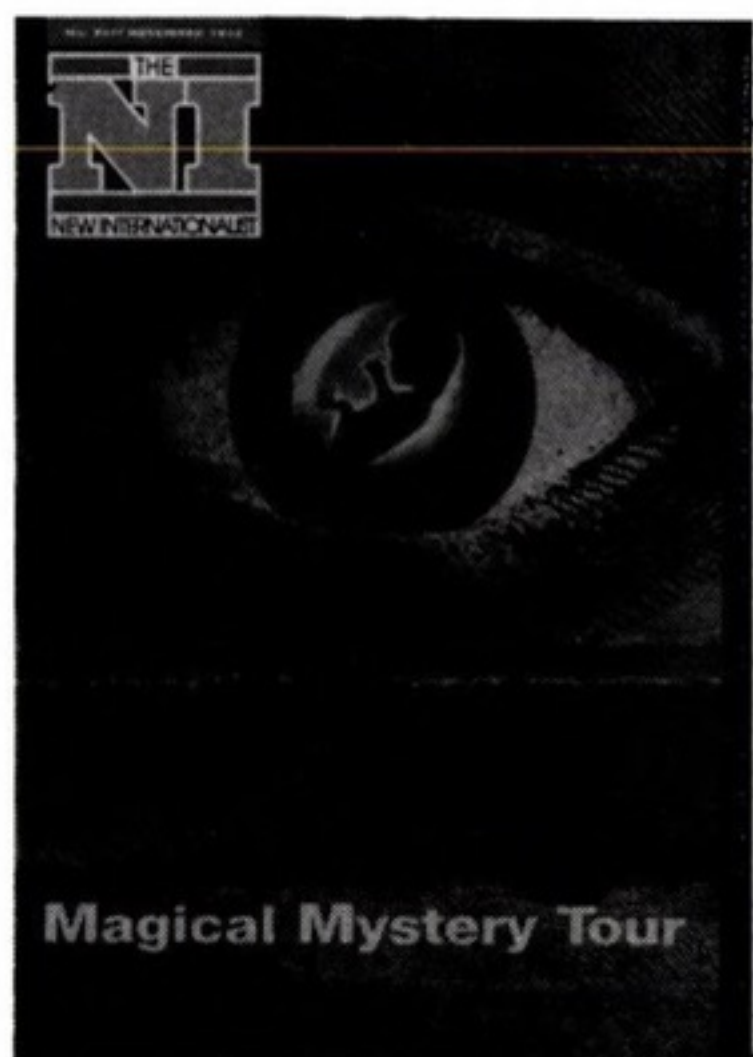
Richard Swift

for the New Internationalist Co-operative

Cosmic aid

I'm sure you'll get plenty of complaints from people who feel the **NI** shouldn't have gone anywhere near a subject like the paranormal (*Magical Mystery Tour* **NI 237**). But this is not one of those.

No, my complaint is rather



that the issue did not go far enough. Your editor was so busy trying to make up his mind how much of the field to take seriously that he failed to recognize the political dimension to much New Age spiritual activism. Many New Age activists are committed campaigners for the environment. Some would go further, as at the recent Alternative Earth Summit in Eastbourne, and claim that on 26 July this year there was a cosmic time shift which poured positive influences in from the 'higher planes' to help humankind confront the environmental crisis.

But even if you dismiss that as totally wacked-out you should still recognize that the best way to protect the planet is to encourage a holistic spirituality which makes the connections between us and the universe instead of elevating us into a superior species of modern conquistadores.

Devon Smith
Cirencester, UK

Sex sells

We at Commonground are great admirers and promoters of the **NI**. Yet increasingly we have begun to note your penchant for displaying young, attractive black women on your front cover. I reckon the cover of your population issue with its big-breasted feeding mother



The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address is inside the front cover.

(*Sex, lies and global survival* **NI 235**) tends to confirm your willingness to indulge in that old marketing ploy – sex sells! Is this tactic becoming your version of World Vision's hungry big-eyed child?

Ed McKinley
Commonground Co-operative,
Seymour, Victoria, Australia

NI response: We're not interested in selling through sex. But you may have a point that in our search for positive images of Third World people for our covers we too often light upon a good-looking young woman.

Excluded experts

Your otherwise excellent issue on population (**NI 235**) was marred by constant references to unidentified 'population experts' who appear to be obsessed with population growth in the South to the exclusion of all else. Readers might be forgiven for concluding that anyone who voices concern about rising human numbers is motivated solely by a desire to protect the North's overblown standard of living.

Such selfish 'experts' do exist. But their ranks do not

include well-known writers like Paul Ehrlich and Jonathon Porritt, or organizations like Population Concern. All of these emphasize the need to restrain both consumption and population growth in the North and I wonder why their views were not mentioned, or why you did not explore, as Ehrlich and others do, the potential for individual and government action to achieve a gradual, voluntary reduction of the birth rate in Northern countries. Why the sudden reluctance to be controversial? I've never noticed it before.

David Carter
Cambridge, UK

Animal anxiety

Each of the last three issues of **NI** has shied away from animal rights at the very last minute. *Disabled lives* (**NI 233**) does not mention how the scientific medical system relies on cruel experiments on animals which distract attention and money from helping sick people; the UK-based organization Disabled Against Animal

Research and Experimentation could readily have provided information on this. Equally *Saving the sea* (**NI 234**) refers to fish as 'a vital global protein supply' – ignoring the individual fish which suffer greatly from being caught and slaughtered. And in *Sex, lies and global survival* (**NI 235**), a photo caption refers to cows as being one of the 'three Cs threatening the environment'.

I realize there is pressure on space, but I am sure that you would not consider relegating women's rights or the suffering of people in poor countries to occasional issues dedicated to the subject.

Phil Sleight
Exeter, UK

Population concern

Anuradha Vittachi's treatment of the human population explosion dismayed me (*Sex, lies and global survival* **NI 235**). She is guilty of using statistics in a manner that a politician would be proud of to support her single line of argument, saying for example that we Northerners consume 20 times as much as people in the Third World. This is patently true of say, energy. But what of food which is the most important issue for daily survival?

Moreover the definition of her created term 'anti-populationist' is unclear and smacks of an attempt to make anyone who advocates birth control appear somehow racist. She does not ask why the world's population has increased so dramatically. And she makes no mention of AIDS.

David Cousins
Munich, Germany

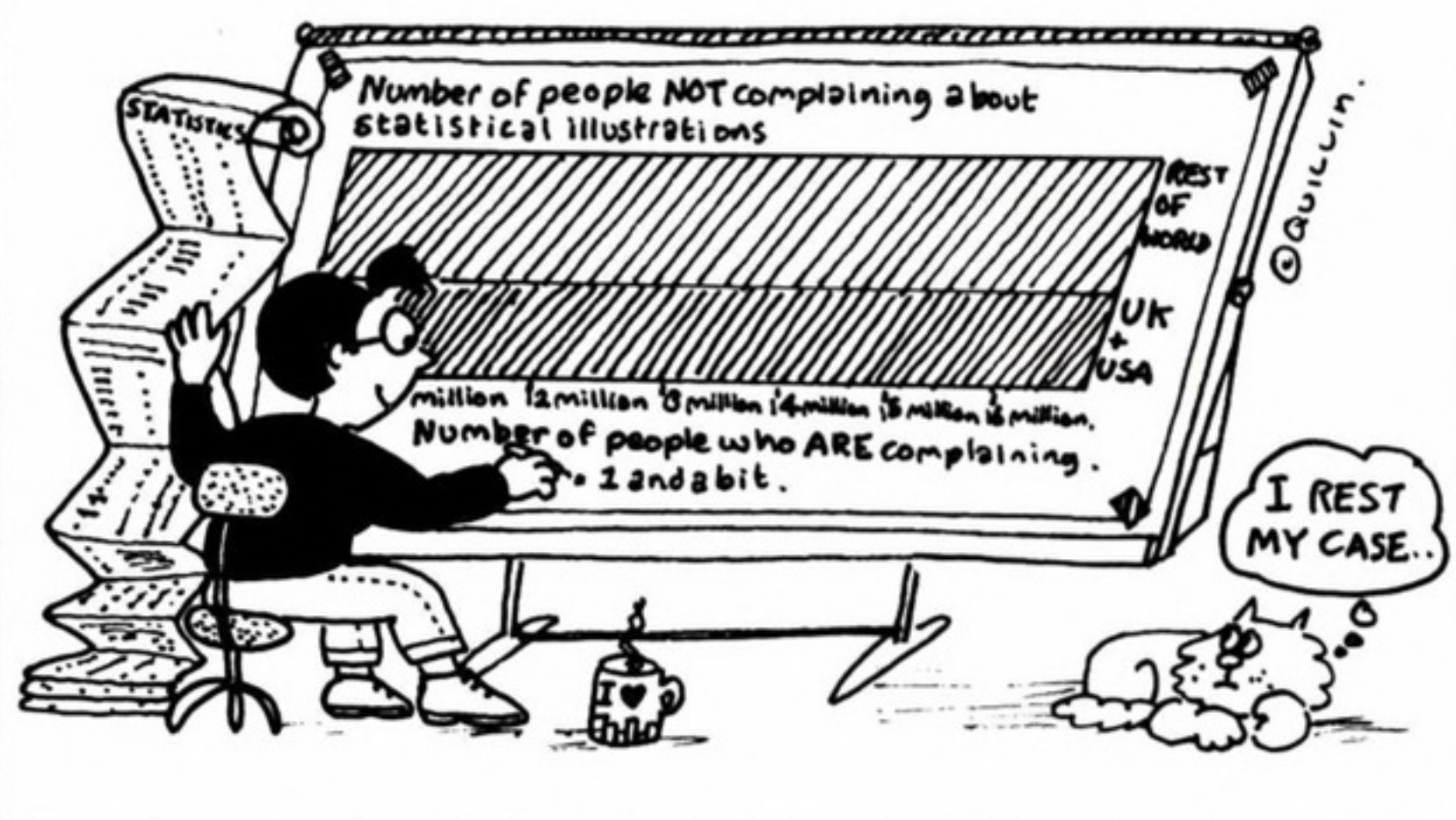
Mutilated language

I take issue with your reporter's choice of words in *Disabled lives* (**NI 233**): the term 'female circumcision' is a euphemism for clitoridectomy and should never be used. Clitoridectomy is a mutilation of women's genitals performed for the sexual pleasure of men. It is also used to deprive women of sexual pleasure and sentence them to a lifetime of sexual dysfunction. It is the most savage form of child abuse among little girls – especially as a cultural or

Graphic examples

My gripe with **NI** is that your graphics illustrate statistics in a very misleading way. This was touched upon by Richard Hellewell in **NI 235**, but it happens a lot. The worst example recently was in the comparison of aid in various countries which appeared in your Japan issue (**NI 231**). In this issue, aid as a percentage of Gross National Product in Japan was said to be \$9 billion compared with Canada's \$2.3 billion – a ratio of 3.9 to 1. However the comparative values of the money sacks which were used to illustrate these figures suggested a ratio of 41 to 1 – a gross exaggeration which is very misleading.

Andy Williams
Chippenham, UK



religious rite – and in many cases is not considered illegal, even I believe in Australia.

Jean L Menere
North Albury, NSW, Australia

Weedkiller worry

The article on banana production (*Updates NI 234*) states that Paraquat causes half the pesticide deaths in Costa Rica and remains in the soil for up to 25 years. I was concerned to read this as I occasionally use Weedol (made by ICI) which contains Paraquat, and they say on the packet that it has no harmful effect on the soil. Indeed, though it does not appear on the Weedol packet I have, I feel sure they used to claim this product was inactivated immediately upon contact with the soil. And they do say now that the area treated does not have to be protected from children or animals after it has dried. Can anyone comment on this?

DG Hannaford
Bury St Edmunds, UK

Manufacturing meanness

Paul Donovan's article on the Guatemalan clothing industry (*Updates NI 235*) rightly exposes the human-rights abuses of such manufacturers. However the guilty parties in this and similar abuses worldwide should also not be let off the hook. High-street retail chains will often play one manufacturer off against another in their demand for ever lower manufacturing costs and go wherever they have to in the world to find these.

As a customer you should demand that governments protect low-paid workers' rights and help stop the terrible exploitation and abuse. In the UK, the minimum-wage legislation of the European Social Charter was successfully opposed by the UK Government at Maastricht and they now plan legislation to abolish the Wages Council minimum-wage protection.

Robert A Badlan
London, UK

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the NI.

LETTER from LAHORE

Ozzy and Hussain

As Heavy Metal, jeans and joggers sweep Pakistan the gap between young and old grows wider, reports **Maria del Nevo**.

HUSSAIN sits at a desk in the corner of the library. He gazes with admiration at a magazine which he has propped up against the wall, his eyes shining, his mind far away.

'Baji?' (older sister) he whispers to me when he realizes that I am watching him, 'Have you heard of Ozzy Osbourne?' 'The name sounds only slightly familiar,' I whisper back.

Undeterred by my ignorance he throws name after name at me, song after song, but I've heard of very few. He looks disdainful for a moment before his eyes are irresistibly drawn back to the picture in front of him.

At noon he comes to share the contents of his tiffin box with me. He talks of his studies and his internship at the local newspaper where he goes every day after lunch. 'Reporting', he says with great seriousness, 'is my passion.'

Talking of passions reminds him again of Ozzy Osbourne. 'I had over 20 posters of him and other rock stars all over my bedroom wall,' he says. 'But my father ripped them down in a fit of rage and threw them away. He said that I shouldn't idolize drunks and drug addicts... I should be indulging in something more suitable. But what else is there?'

Hussain isn't unusual for a boy of his 19 years and urban middle-class background. Like many of his peers he doesn't know what to do with his spare time. 'Most evenings,' he says, 'I just go to my bedroom with a friend and we listen to music or have a boxing match.'

There is no shortage of other forms of entertainment; theatre groups and cinemas abound, although Western films are usually censored to the point of obscurity and local films, according to Hussain, are 'obscene'.

But there are very few neutral meeting points where young people can relax and share their interests; only parks and a few sports clubs. 'And what's the point of going on picnics and outings when they are all-male affairs?' Hussain asks. 'Even if a college girl did come she would end up constantly looking over her shoulder, afraid a family friend might see her.'

On public holidays, parks, zoos and funfairs are dominated by boys and men who cannot conceal their inner frustration. These places are out of bounds for girls, whose parents won't permit them

to be exposed to possible danger or harassment.

The sexes have to find more devious ways to meet. 'There is always *poondi*,' says Hussain with a cheeky grin. 'For that we usually go to Liberty Market.'

Poondi roughly translates as 'harmless flirtation' and is a strongly rooted cultural pastime in Pakistan. Traditionally it took place between boy and girl neighbours on the roofs of houses in old cities. But today it is conducted in plazas and bazaars and consists of eye contact or pursuing a girl by moped to relay some romantic message.

'Some boys who do telephone *poondi* might even get a date with a girl,' says Hussain. But

such triumphs are rare. When they occur the date has to be carried out like an undercover operation and often the girl backs out after a few meetings for fear of getting a bad reputation.

'In the West a boy of my age can make his own choices,' he explains. 'He can talk to girls, drink, listen to any type of music. We don't necessarily want to indulge in these things. But we do want the freedom to choose. And our parents don't understand – they feel threatened.'

The harmonious appearance of Pakistan's close-knit extended families often masks tension between young and old. While the older generation remains steeped in cultural customs, young people experience fashions and crazes swept over from the West via the satellite TV revolution. They are discarding their traditional baggy trousers and long shirts for jeans and joggers. And instead of listening to ancient poetic verses they are headbanging to Black Sabbath and blaring out rap from their car stereos.

'My father says I am free to express myself to him. But I can't because our culture dictates that young people do not assert themselves before their elders,' says Hussain. 'Heavy Metal is my only outlet. All my pent-up energy is released when I listen to it.'

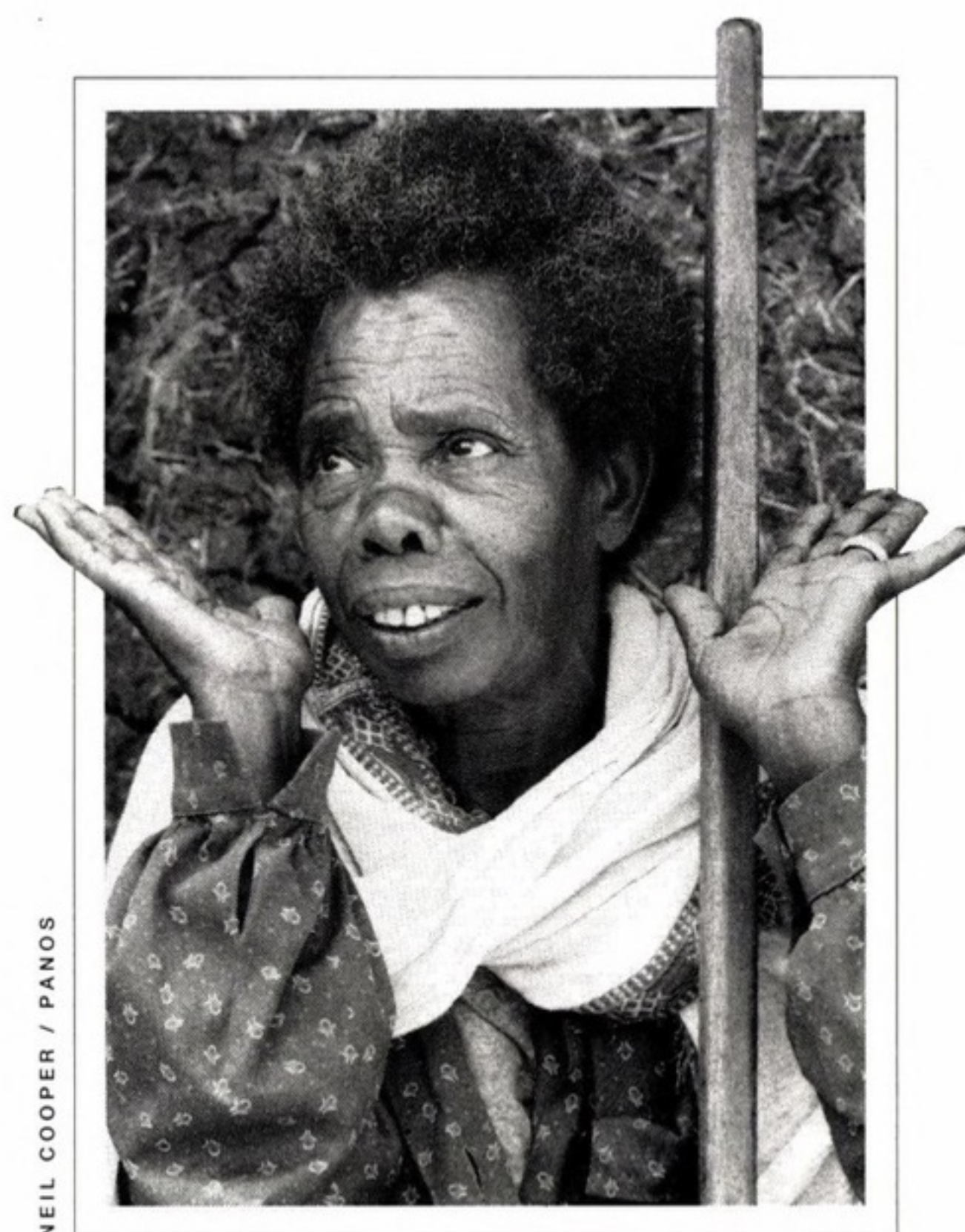
Having aired his frustrations he gathers up his tiffin box. And tucking the picture of Ozzy back into his bag, he prepares to leave for his afternoon job.

Maria del Nevo is a former NI staff member who now lives and works in Lahore.



ILLUSTRATION: MIRIAM MCCURDY

Horror & hope in the Horn



NEIL COOPER / PANOS

*If the world despairs of any one of its regions it is probably the corner of Africa which contains Ethiopia and Somalia. **Richard Swift** travels there to uncover the causes of devastation – and the promise of change.*

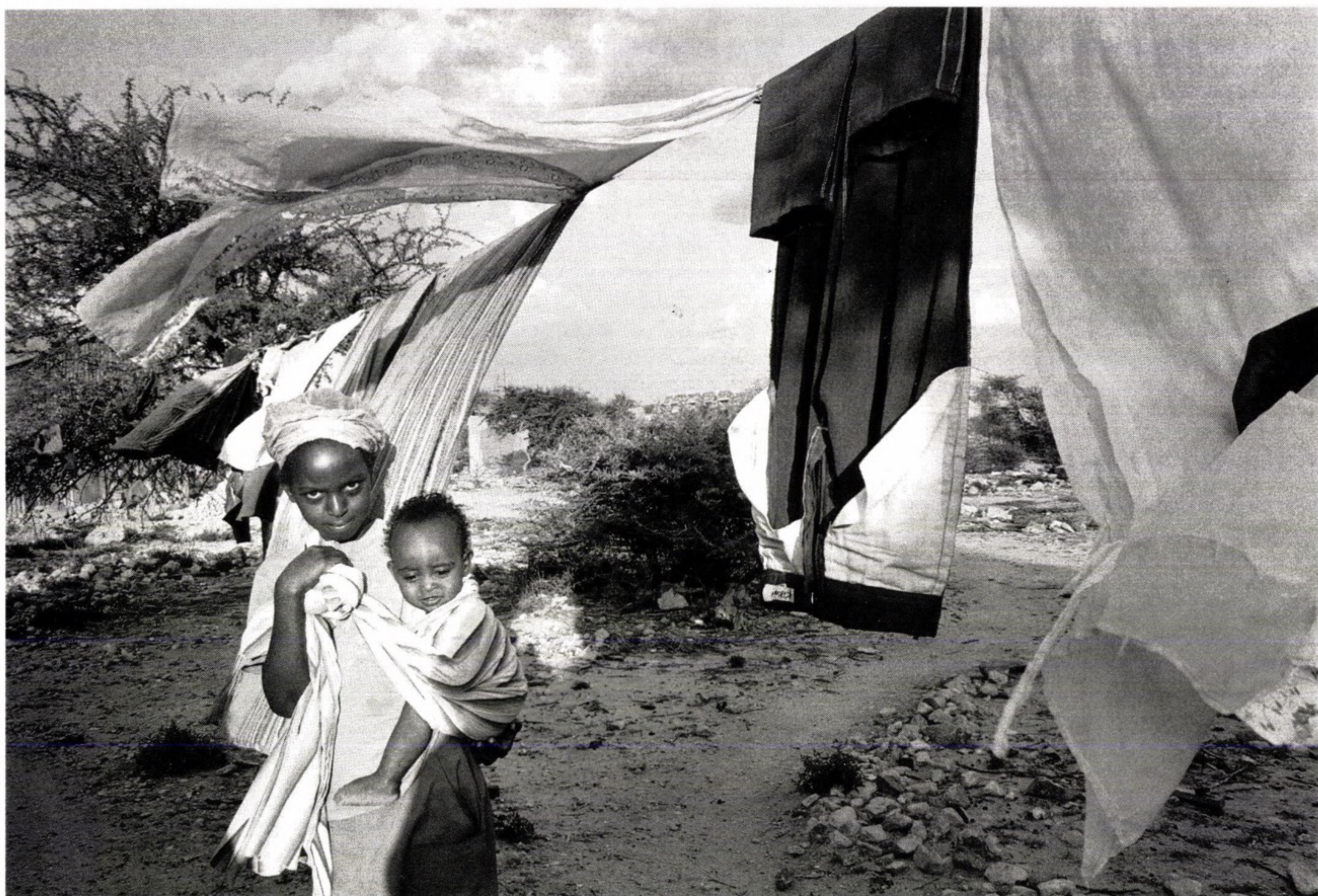
THE words trip off the lips all too easily. 'The country is a write-off.' Or maybe 'a basket-case'. These days the object of such glib assertions is frequently Somalia, Ethiopia or one of the other countries in the Horn of Africa. The speaker might be a journalist, a diplomat (speaking off the record, of course), an aid bureaucrat or just a casual observer stirred by images of starvation and armed mayhem. They don't seem to need any particular knowledge of the people of the Horn to

come up with these acute judgements. And they will usually be free with their ideas about the causes of African people's plight: tribalism, overpopulation or general backwardness. Yet in a year when we are witnessing the most appalling European tribalism in what was once Yugoslavia we should perhaps not be so quick to judge Africa.

The easy despair of Western observers is usually not shared by the people of the Horn themselves. For them despair is a luxury. Of

the dozens of people I talked with in Eritrea and Ethiopia all were hopeful. 'Perhaps the rains will be better this year...' 'Maybe this new way to harvest water will work...' 'Terracing will be sure to stop some of the soil erosion...' 'The new government is bound to make a big difference...' 'This seed bank will really help with next year's crop...' 'If people start feeling secure they won't have to carry guns'.

Granted this was not Somalia in the midst of inter-clan warfare or the southern



NANA REIMERS / STILL PICTURES

The winds of war have blown people far from their traditional homes.
Refugees outside their camp in Hargeisa, Somaliland.

Sudan ravaged by the militarism of Khartoum. But Eritrea and Ethiopia have just witnessed decades dominated by starvation and dictatorship – hardly breeding grounds for optimism. And there is plenty of optimism at large in Somalia and Sudan too – people labouring long days in relief camps or working against the odds to bring peace and accountable government; families walking hundreds of miles under the desert sun to escape the bullets and track down some food. Without a sense that things can improve none of these things would happen.

The most helpless voices I heard in Ethiopia were those of Western aid officials – forced to find excuses not to help due to the meagre budgets allotted them by Ottawa and Washington. They saw failure everywhere: their lifestyles and ‘hardship allowances’ allowed them the luxury of this pessimism. Some of them stayed in the Addis Hilton, paying a more expensive rate for a room that did not overlook the neighbouring refugee squatter camp. They were sure that the only hope lay in that old chestnut, ‘private enterprise’. As I sat listening to people like this a line from a song by

Canadian folk singer Buffy St Marie – ‘making the same old mistakes in brand new ways’ – kept running through my mind.

The Horn should be fertile ground for the free-market gospel. Everyone is certainly tired of state socialist rhetoric and the ‘might makes right’ approach to politics that went with it. There is no doubt that the initiative of individuals and communities has been stifled by the state. The use of bureaucratic marketing boards – at least in socialist Somalia and Ethiopia – siphoned off any meagre surplus from small peasants and pastoralists to support hopelessly grand schemes for state farms and industry.

Free-market madness

But the idea that foreign investors will flock to the Horn is just plain silly. Don’t you think they will find it a touch... *high risk*? Even the local business class makes most of its money in the import/export trade which creates little employment and channels much wealth abroad. So the market will be no magic bullet for the Horn. And in fact production for the world market can be held accountable for many of the region’s present prob-

lems. Capital-intensive export agriculture helped plunge the region into debt and soaked up resources – land and capital – needed for food production. In a way starvation itself has its roots in market logic. Food is a commodity. And those who can’t pay for it – wandering refugees who have already sold their last livestock or farmers without even devalued Sudanese pounds or Ethiopian birr – will have to do without.

The new governments in Ethiopia and Eritrea created after the overthrow of the Mengistu junta are far from being mad devotees of free-market doctrine. Both have their roots in a flexible socialism – one that looks to what works rather than ideology. And some things have worked in Ethiopia in the past. Befekadu Degefe, who teaches economics at Addis University, points out that his country’s inflation rate has always been remarkably low by African standards. Also that there were real success stories in public-sector investment before Mengistu came to power: Ethiopian Airlines or the Credit and Commercial Bank, for example.

Degefe, who was imprisoned by the Mengistu regime but is also uncomfortable

with the present government, recommends tariff walls to protect the development of labour-intensive small-scale industry. He is suspicious of any modernization that creates few jobs or other spin-offs. He claims that 'for us even the assembly line is inappropriate technology'. He also recommends a free market in land, though this is unlikely to happen due to government fears that desperate farmers will sell off their land cheap and crowd into the cities. But a much freer market in goods is already apparent. And the ingenuity with which everyone seems to find something to sell, from cows to that old standby cactus fruit, is truly impressive.

Salving the Western conscience

But at the government level there is a manifest lack of blind faith in free trade and in privatizing everything that moves which certainly contributes to official Western pessimism about the Horn. And a more general decline of Western interest can be traced to the region's loss of strategic importance in the post-Cold War world. As J Bower Bell, one of those strange American creatures called a 'strategic analyst', put it back in the early 1970s: 'The basic strategic importance of the Horn is not the presence of copper deposits, the fate of democracy or the future of the Ethiopian monarchy; it is simple geography'. During the grand old days of geopolitical struggle the US and the USSR (among others) were happy to pump arms into the region and prop up its unpopular dictators. They bear a heavy responsibility for the current mess of killing and starva-

tion. Today they just shrug their shoulders and walk away, maybe giving a little humanitarian aid on the way out the door to salve their consciences.

The exception here is Sudan, which the West still regards as having great economic potential. It thinks of the untapped oil deposits and minerals and remembers the early 1980s when capital from the Gulf poured in to try and make the country 'the breadbasket of the Middle East'. But the dusty streets of Khartoum are now in the hands of the anti-Western National Islamic Front and their military ally General Omar al-Bashir. This regime is continuing a ruthless and expensive war to Islamicize the African south and gain control of southern resources – oil, water and fertile land. While the West does not have a big stake in Bashir's Sudan, the International Monetary Fund had a large role in the previous two decades. Their formula for a mechanized export-oriented agriculture helped move Sudan from food surplus to food deficit and left it staggering under a huge national debt.

But bad advice and lots of guns from the outside world are not all the countries of the Horn – Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, tiny Djibouti and now Eritrea – have in common. They share an arid topography of highlands and desert – interspersed with more fertile areas particularly in the south of the region and in the Nile river valley. In many ways this is one of the world's crossroads – between the Arab world and Africa, between desert and jungle, between Islam and the diversity of beliefs south of the Sahara. The majority of people who

live here are dependent for their survival on subsistence agriculture or tending livestock. This makes them poor but not destitute: they have a resilient culture that has allowed them their share of joys and sorrows for generations, even enabling them to cope with the occasional drought.

But their contact with modernity has tended to shatter these traditional sources of security. Tractors have pushed them from their land. Fences have blocked their cattle routes. Marketing boards have told them what to grow and then paid them too little for it. They have been driven out of their villages to become refugees or 'reset-tled' in distant parts 'for their own good'.

The Horn has been ill served by the grand designs of those with power, whether they come from the West's development industry or from capital cities like Mogadishu and Khartoum. Like many parts of the Third World, this is a region rich in variety. All these diverse peoples, cultural traditions and political aspirations cannot easily be moulded into an obedient sameness to comply with the demands of scientific socialism, the Koran or even World Bank notions of 'integrated development'. The idea that they can is a tragic conceit of those with power, one that continues to cost lives by turning subsistence into destitution.

Grand ambitions

The dictatorships of Siad Barre in Somalia and Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia imposed their sweeping schemes for collective farms and state-sponsored industrial development while seeking at the same time to fulfil grand nationalist ambitions. In Ethiopia the entire Mengistu period was marked by a series of wars aimed at preventing the disparate ethnic groups that make up this multinational state (some would say empire) from asserting their sovereignty. Ethiopia has traditionally been highly centralized, with the Amharic people calling the shots from Addis Ababa, but under Mengistu this was compounded by the belief that an autocratic state was needed to drag Ethiopia into a socialist future.

In the country next door it is questionable whether Siad Barre believed his own socialist rhetoric. But even if he did his territorial ambitions for a 'greater Somaliland', to be achieved by annexing the Somali-populated parts of neighbouring countries, doomed his socialism to be drowned in the blood of a brutal desert war in the Ogaden.

Even without these costly military adventures, the centralized nation-state appears to be an inappropriate political form for the Horn of Africa. So it is not surprising that it is falling apart. Somalia, ethnically more homogeneous than any other African country, has already split in two with no sign of a consensus over who should control the national government or

The wrecked dreams of conquest litter the landscape of southern Sudan.



NETWORK



NEIL COOPER / PANOS

Ploughing for survival starts early in Tigray. Even the most arid land must be harnessed to feed the future.

even if there should be one. In April 1993 Eritrea will vote in a referendum that will undoubtedly produce a landslide majority for independence from Ethiopia. The new government in Addis, a coalition of the ethnic-based liberation movements that overthrew Mengistu, is promising a radically decentralized political system. If this satisfies groups like the Oromos in the south then Ethiopia may well become Africa's second federal state after Nigeria; if it doesn't the country may break up entirely.

If Sudan is not to face further decades of war between north and south a new political arrangement will also be necessary there. It could evolve into a loose federation with regionally based power centres giving Sudan's major ethnic groups more say over their own fate. Or the country could simply split into two – an Arab north and an African south.

The determination of the regime in Khartoum to impose Islamic law on the whole of Sudan exemplifies what is wrong with political leadership in the Horn. The costs of trying to squeeze a myriad different approaches to life into a centralized strait-jacket are easy enough to see. Millions of dollars worth of wrecked and rusted metal – tanks, shells, armoured cars – litter the regional landscape from Afabet in northern Eritrea to the streets of Mogadishu and the bush of southern Sudan.

As I stood upon a tank turret in Afabet surveying the devastated scene of the Ethiopian Army's greatest rout I couldn't help but wonder what this country would have been like if all those resources wasted on arms had been ploughed into health care, safe water and sustainable agriculture. What the region needs most is peace. And it cannot have it without democratic politi-

cal reform: arrangements that give the complex diversity of the Horn's peoples their own political voice.

The crisis of the nation-state is not restricted to the Horn. From Canada to the former USSR and the European Community, who holds power and over what is the burning political issue. But it is not enough to have large nation-states fragment into smaller ones with all the same autocratic habits. Political power must be diffused to villages and workplaces, to peasants' associations and nomad encampments. The collective rights of regions and ethnic groups need protection; so too do the democratic rights of the individual.

Innovation and democracy

There are some signs of hope on this front – at least in Eritrea and northern Ethiopia. Village assemblies in Eritrea and the innovative *baito* system of local self-government in rural Tigray are embryonic forms of popular control from below. There is a strong democratic ethos in the largely Christian highlands of northern Ethiopia as well as in the sophisticated political culture of urban Sudan. And the political atmosphere in Addis, despite tensions between the Government and the Oromos, is freer than most can remember. When I was there the quasi-official *Ethiopian Herald* even ran an article calling for the formation of a Green Party to address the country's severe ecological crisis. This is the raw material from which a new, less coercive relationship between state and society might be built.

But local political control will have to be buttressed by local economic clout. This must also be built from the bottom up for it will not come as a gift from some transna-

tional corporation or the World Bank. The slow and careful work of some Northern charities and their local partners – rehabilitating the agricultural economy and repairing a degraded ecosystem – is a good start. People will take initiatives spontaneously if the knowledge and tools are at hand – and if peace and security are ensured.

There can be no return to some pre-colonial state of pastoral harmony with nature. In places the land is badly degraded. Some areas may be overpopulated. Certainly a subsistence-based way of life will no longer support as many as it did and certain parts of the Horn are likely to face food deficits for the foreseeable future. The people of the Horn need to take what is best and most appropriate from modern technology and adapt it to meet their own needs. What they do not need is some outside master plan that will transform their lives without their permission and against their will.

Most victims of famine and drought survive. In the Horn of Africa hunger has affected millions but most struggle on. Starvation is a good deal more subtle than headlines and TV images imply. It is not a single event but a process, a gradually increasing vulnerability that combines physical effects with more intangible psychological impacts – the collapse of age-old beliefs, indignity, and ultimately apathy. Despite that, most people keep their hopes up and some are surprisingly cheerful. There is no shortage of bravery, not just in the liberation struggles against despotism but in the quiet heroism of daily survival. But it was Bertolt Brecht who once made the insightful observation: 'Pity the poor land which needs heroes'. The Horn of Africa has needed more than its fair share. ■



NEIL COOPER / PANOS

Deadly games imitate reality in a Somali refugee camp. Men with guns get the press but the country's crisis has also produced sacrifice and heroism.

EMERGENCY REPORT

*Earlier this year **Tony Vaux** witnessed the pain and chaos of war-torn Somalia. Here is his report for Oxfam UK on a devastating famine – and a brave struggle to overcome it.*

IN December 1990, with the collapse of Siad Barre's dictatorship in the wind, Oxfam closed its main office in Somalia. Within three weeks practically all expatriates had left Mogadishu in a massive evacuation. The victorious United Somali Congress (USC) almost immediately split apart after taking the capital. Its leader, Ali Mahdi, declared himself President and took over the formal government structures. But General Aidid, a powerful leader in the attack on Barre, rejected Mahdi and launched a new war. This soon degenerated into an internecine feud

between two subgroups of the Hawiye clan. Fighting swept backwards and forwards over Mogadishu reducing the city's population of about one-and-a-quarter million by half and destroying all infrastructure not secured by powerful interests.

This chaos allowed Siad Barre to reassemble his forces and wage war over territories adjacent to his base in the far south. By early 1992 he had come within a few miles of Mogadishu. Then he sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of General Aidid.

Throughout this period there was

appalling chaos in Mogadishu with armed bands endlessly roving the streets in search of loot and shells dropping indiscriminately across the battle-lines. But despite the well-publicized gangsterism in Mogadishu, the city was a relative safe haven compared with Barre's ravages of the countryside.

There villagers told us how they had been forced to dig out their food stocks under threat of death and even their smallest possessions had been systematically looted. Practically all their animals had been taken and killed for meat.

Already impoverished from the year

before, whole villages were left in the dry season with no food at all. Those which had any resources protected them with guns. Throughout the war gunmen have protected the big plantations and the luxury houses of the capital. Villagers in Qorioli starved to death next to huge banana plantations. If they even gathered grass to eat they were likely to have their hands tied together and a bullet put through the palms. It was a vicious rich-man's war totally dominated by the power of guns and those who could afford to control them.

Word spread of the feeding centres and people were drawn to the capital like a magnet. Every bombed-out site or abandoned government building became a home for the destitute. The International Commission of the Red Cross (ICRC) organized kitchens to feed them, and Save the Children Fund set up supplementary and therapeutic feeding, as well as Mother and Child Health Centres. Today over half the city's population are being fed in this way, according to UNICEF. But many people still live in unstable, transitory settlements which are difficult to help effectively.

When Siad Barre's soldiers were finally driven from Somalia in May 1992, the awful truth was revealed. Hundreds of thousands had perished and whole villages were populated mostly by the dying. This outrage compares with the deliberate starvation of the Dinkas in 1988 or the Tigrayans in 1984. The Horn is no stranger to famine deliberately created by military power.

The ICRC is the agency best equipped to operate in a situation of open warfare. It has the international mandate to negotiate the welfare of civilians in times of war. And each ICRC vehicle is mounted with a heavy machine-gun and a bunch of armed men – a hallmark of the 'flexibility' and 'compromise' that enables the organization to operate in Somalia.

Current operations for bringing in food include five major land-routes from Kenya, two major ports (Mogadishu, Kismayo) and a score of landing points along the coast. The port of Mogadishu is a battleground from which food emerges only after the gunmen have extorted their share – either as payment for services or as loot. ICRC staff have been killed and their compounds attacked. Whole convoys are regularly looted, sometimes by their own guards.

While self-seeking armed men have shown the worst of human nature, the many Red Crescent volunteers which support ICRC have shown the very best. The current relief operation is, in reality, run entirely by Somalis. Expatriates may stick out in the streets of Mogadishu or in the feeding centres, but the ability of voluntary organizations to even operate can be credited to their experienced Somali staff.

The ever-present risk of looting has forced the ICRC to devise a system of dropping off small quantities of food to their volunteers, who immediately cook it into a porridge ration available for anyone who comes. Gunmen are far too proud to queue in soup kitchens and so the food generally reaches those who need it. Even former professional staff and senior government workers go to these kitchens, for until recently there was little to buy in the market. I think it is really one of the most remarkable feeding operations in history.

An American airlift is planned to flood Somalia with food. And the hope is that if food is freely available the bandits will stop looting it. But their greed is by now legendary. And there is also fear that such action might depress agriculture because people will have little incentive to produce for themselves.

Generally though, the food situation in Mogadishu is gradually improving. The priority must be to get food out to the interior famine areas to keep people in their own homes and begin a recovery programme.

It is impossible to overstate the extent of human misery and suffering in Somalia. People die in front of you and in every centre there are many who will be dead by the end of the week. Basic morality demands that Oxfam respond to the best of its ability – but the most difficult question of all is how to weigh up such life-saving work against the lives and safety of our staff.

The complete breakdown of government control means no property is safe unless protected by a gun, backed up by alliances to bring in bigger guns if required. Individual gunmen loot from everyone, even women and children. And larger armed bands will loot a whole convoy. Despite their life-saving work the agencies are in the same boat as everyone else. The UNICEF compound was recently surrounded by 'technicals' (pick-up trucks fitted with heavy weapons) and the the agency was warned that unless it employed more armed men they were at risk. On the same day staff from Concern were besieged in their compound by their own guards demanding more pay. (continued over)

COUNTRIES OF THE HORN: 1

Somalia

POPULATION: 7.1 million.

HISTORY: The Somali people, formed out of a combination of African and Arab influences, were mostly farmers in the south and nomadic pastoralists in the north. In the colonial era the northern part of the country became a much-neglected British protectorate called Somaliland and the south fell under the control of the Italians.

There was armed resistance in the late nineteenth century by the religiously inspired Dervish movement. Independence and unification were finally achieved in 1960. At the end of the decade the army seized power with promises of egalitarian development. But General Siad Barre created one of the world's most brutal dictatorships.

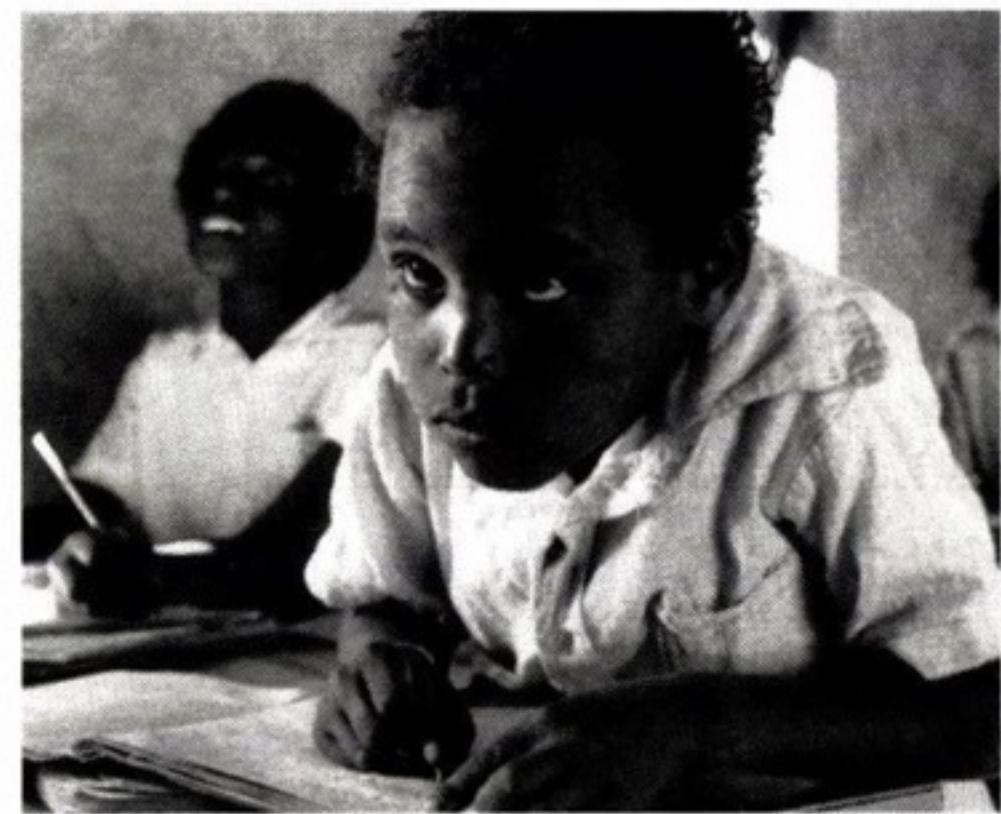
ECONOMY: The Somali economy is based on agriculture. Meat and skins from the herds of nomadic pastoralists are exported to the Middle East. Low prices paid to producers, a lavish military budget, ambitious agro-industries and a bloated bureaucracy severely retarded agriculture even before the present civil war. Somalia went from food self-sufficiency in the early 1970s to become one of the most food-dependent countries in Africa by the mid-1980s.

POLITICS: With the military defeat of the Barre government in December 1990 Somalia collapsed into inter-clan warfare. The northern Issack clan led a movement for independence in the area roughly covered by the former British colony. In the south two factions of the United Somali Congress have been waging a ruthless battle over the capital Mogadishu. In the rural areas different clan-based armed groups (one including Siad Barre and his

Darod clan) have been murdering, pillaging and generally terrorizing people in the countryside.

BASIC NEEDS: According to the Red Cross the children of central Somalia have the highest rate of malnutrition – 90 per cent malnourished, 60 per cent severely malnourished – in the world. The structure of most major centres has been completely destroyed. In one three-month period in late 1991 heavy fighting in Mogadishu killed or wounded 41,000 people. The situation in many rural areas is even worse.

HUMAN RIGHTS: During the 21-year rule of Siad Barre Somalia had one of the worst records for arbitrary imprisonment, summary execution and torture in all of Africa. Barre's record also includes the wholesale massacre of opposing political and clan groups. In 1988-89 his forces killed 50,000 civilians, mostly Issaks in the north. Today the rule of the gun prevails and it is impossible to speak of human rights.



LIBA TAYLOR / PANOS PICTURES



NANA REIMERS / STILL PICTURES

Clinging on for dear life: Somalis have a grim determination to face down the twin demons of militarism and starvation.

A saving grace is that an expatriate life has no intrinsic value to these armed men. There is no issue here of hostage-taking (as in Afghanistan), reprisals (Mozambique) or the desire to show power over territory (Ethiopia). The danger expatriates face arises mainly from being in an area of uncontrolled looting. Presumably no expatriate would resist handing over relief goods or personal belongings at gunpoint. These looters will never be 'caught', so they have no interest in killing witnesses.

All agency personnel travel (or even walk) with armed guards at all times. Armed escorts come with the vehicles and are there to guard the vehicles, not the expatriates' lives. Shooting is about property not people, so if people get out of the way they should be safe.

The exception is when expatriates are perceived to maltreat staff; the UNICEF house manager was nearly killed when he tried to fire some employees. And staff must be recruited with care.

Agency workers operate largely because of effective radio communication systems.

All expatriates, and many Somalis, carry walkie-talkies which are constantly open to report if they need help. Any Oxfam operation will require expensive equipment of this kind, notably a satellite phone/fax link to the UK, mobile radios in the cars and walkie-talkies for Mogadishu.

Dealing with the transport of food is still the most dangerous activity of all and is best left to the UN, the US and ICRC. As security slowly improves the ICRC is beginning to distribute dry rations. We visited a village that received some bags a few weeks ago, but as soon as ICRC left the whole lot was looted. A second delivery was arranged. The villagers hired 15 guards, but on the day of distribution the gunmen demanded more 'protection' and a share of the benefits to go to their patrons. In the end half the food went to the gunmen and the villagers continued to starve.

I conclude that although dry rations are preferable because they allow people to get on with their normal lives, the switch will have to be slow. Oxfam should continue its policy of backing the ICRC in this area.

We have also launched a highly-acclaimed agricultural rehabilitation programme to be concentrated in the coastal areas around Merca (about 150 kilometres south of Mogadishu) and Kismayo (400 kilometres). Peter Crichton devised an imaginative scheme to work with UNICEF on rapid seed multiplication so that farmers would get good local seed as soon as possible for the main planting in March 1993. The first phase is to buy seeds from merchants and distribute them to a target 16,000 farmers by late September.

In my view we should also begin to address the problem of clothes (drawing on our experience of the comparable situation in Mozambique). In a village meeting near Qorioli we heard that many people, especially women, were too ashamed to come out of their houses for lack of clothes. This may even prevent them from doing work outside the house and can only undermine the rehabilitation programme. Reeling under the shock of starvation, loss of relatives, terror of gunmen, it is no trivial matter to feel too ashamed even to face the world. The villagers are close to despair. Clothes may help to overcome some of their suffering.

Also the hundreds of kitchens and feeding centres have an endless demand for water supplies. In Mogadishu donkey-carts or tankers delivering water to locally-made tanks have been one solution, but in the interior voluntary agencies like Concern have expressed a need for the support of an Oxfam water team equipped with prefabricated tanks and distribution systems. Our priority, after supporting voluntary agencies, would be to work on general water supplies in the camps for the displaced, and beyond that to support the rehabilitation of village water supplies.

We must brace ourselves for a big and disruptive relief programme. The value of what we have already set up will be increasingly apparent as time passes. None of this would be possible without the courage of Somali relief workers who risk their lives without the security of evacuation plans and walkie-talkies. While the white 'Angels of Mercy' steal the limelight, journalists portray Somalis as either victims or thugs.

The majority of Somali people however have risen far above helplessness and self-interest. Like the mothers who struggle, hungry and harassed between food queues with their children, or sit with emaciated infants in therapeutic centres, eating nothing themselves but watching food keep death from a precious child. It is so sad that this heroism is lost in media reporting that portrays only the horror and shame of the Somali people. ■

Tony Vaux is Emergencies Co-ordinator with Oxfam-UK.

Hunger myths

Media images of suffering in the Horn of Africa are constructed for maximum emotional impact but often feed popular misconceptions about why people are starving – and who is responsible.

“There's just not enough food to go around”

Reality: Absolute food shortages are rare. Rich people never starve. Poor people do. Starvation is a result of unequal power in the market made worse by drought, war and ecological collapse. Some people in Somalia are starving in relief camps on the outskirts of towns where the markets are full of food. The Horn contains some of the most productive food-growing regions in Africa, like the Nile provinces in Sudan and Gojam in Ethiopia. But their prosperity does not benefit less fortunate regions.

“The way these people fight among themselves makes them their own worst enemies”

Reality: The gunfighters on the streets, who often start out as well-trained soldiers, have been made many times more deadly by the sophisticated weapons that have flooded into the Horn from the West and the former USSR. Arms sales, military aid and support for military dictators have contributed to a culture of violence far more deadly than any traditional rivalry. Under Mengistu, Ethiopia received billions of dollars worth of arms from the USSR. Meanwhile throughout the 1980s the US sent half a billion dollars worth of arms to Somalia which are now being used to terrorize the population of Mogadishu.

“The main problem with these countries is their bureaucratic fat”

Reality: Austerity programmes inspired by the International Monetary Fund have had little effect in cutting waste and bureaucracy but have hurt the most vulnerable people. During the famine of 1985 eastern Sudan produced 800,000 tons of grain. But huge debt commitments prevented the cash-strapped Government from buying the surplus for those starving in other regions. Discipline of any type is usually applied first to the powerless who lack the political influence to defend themselves.

“They're starving because they produce nothing the rest of the world wants to buy”

Reality: Famine-stricken countries often export food while their own people are starving. During the famine of 1984-85 which killed a million people, Ethiopia exported green beans to the UK. Despite the continued threat of famine in 1989 Sudan sold 400,000 tons of sorghum to the European Community for animal feed. The rulers of such countries put a higher priority on oiling the state machinery with foreign exchange than on feeding the hungry. Much of the best land in Ethiopia is devoted to growing coffee (80 per cent of exports) and in Sudan to growing cotton (50 per cent of exports).

OF THE LIVING DEAD



FOCUS: SOMALIA BRIEFING 1-9

THE CLANS



Call to arms: Somali clan members

SOMALIANS ARE DYING LIKE FLIES



Gunmen steal food shipments by the truckload

The Guardian



A new military offensive is threatening the airlift of relief supplies which provides Juba's fragile link with the outside world, reports Victoria Britain

Thousands face

ACTION FOR SOMALIA!



YOU CAN HELP SAVE CHILDREN'S LIVES IN SOMALIA

Despite the desperate situation in Somalia, UNICEF remains one of the few agencies still getting essential food, medical supplies and equipment through to starving children.

You too can help save children's lives if you act now.

Help us to reach the one million children who are still at most serious risk today.

Please send as much as you can now, together with the completed coupon below to: UNICEF, 002, FREEPOST, Chelmsford CM2 6BR.

JOIN OUR ACTION FOR SOMALIA APPEAL

£100 £50 £25 £15 Other £

081-200 0200

UNICEF

A traveller's notebook

*War has been the only steady diet for the people of northern Ethiopia and Eritrea. But **NI** editor **Richard Swift** finds grounds for hope of better fare in the future.*

ROGER HUTCHINGS / NETWORK



THE Toyota land cruiser screeched to a halt. Two strange men jumped out and pointed their odd machines at the boy in the purple shirt and his sister. The little nomad girl leaped off the camel and ran screaming up the hill. The two strange men were me and my colleague Mel from Oxfam-Canada and the odd machines were Japanese cameras. Our driver Walde called out in the Tigranya language to reassure the girl that there was no danger. But in a land like Eritrea where the countryside is still pock-marked with trenches it is hard to get used to the fact that 30 years of war are finally over. The girl's reaction was perfectly understandable – death could easily come at the whim of strangers in large vehicles pointing odd machines in your direction. Peace will take a bit of time to get used to.

Travel anywhere in the Horn of Africa and one reality becomes obvious. War is contagious. Its consequences – refugees, weapons, ecological destruction, fear and oppression – overflow borders and infect the entire region. Weapons from Ethiopian wars are now in the hands of young gunfighters who make survival on the streets of Mogadishu – which used to be the capital of Somalia – a matter of firepower or just plain luck. Refugees from southern Sudan caught in the crossfire of civil war flee in terror across the Ethiopian border. Not too long ago Ethiopian refugees fled across the Sudanese border for exactly the same reason.

But if war and instability can overflow borders, how about peace and a commitment to meet people's basic needs? As I travelled through Eritrea and the northern Ethiopian province of Tigray I got at least

the hint that this is possible, which would be all the more remarkable given the startling conditions in the region. Few illusions are possible about this part of the world – it is poor in almost every sense of the word. It has few natural resources, no surface water, badly degraded soil and very little rain. The highlands of both Eritrea and Tigray are rolling hillsides of endless rock interspersed with spindly trees or the odd clump of green. Here and there the vegetation takes on the regularity of crop lines that farmers have managed to coax out of the stingy ground, still using the same ox-drawn iron plow that they have for centuries. Women stagger under huge loads of firewood that must have taken the better part of a day to collect given the scarcity of mature trees.

For me this country has a vaguely Biblical feel. Nomadic people such as the Rashida or the Beja still wander these hills with camels, donkeys and goats in tow trying to survive in an era where modern states with their penchant for regimentation make nomadic life increasingly difficult.

Cars are rare and transportation is hard to find, making hitchhiking a highly evolved art form involving anything from

hand gestures and beseeching looks or cries to feigning authority or simply acting as a human roadblock. The roads are in dreadful shape but then so is the rest of the infrastructure. The relatively new hospital in Massawa, Eritrea's Red Sea port, is a case in point. It was so badly damaged by Ethiopian bombing that only a small outpatient clinic on the bottom floor remains open. And this is certainly not due to lack of business in a coastal area plagued by malaria and dengue fever.

Still the mood in Eritrea is remarkably upbeat. After 30 years of almost constant warfare the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) has expelled all Ethiopian forces and is on the brink of achieving the long cherished Eritrean desire for independence. The streets of the capital Asmara are remarkably clean and safe (for both sexes) and everyone you talk to is infected by a quiet optimism about the future. Time and again I was told 'finally we will see what we can do for ourselves'.

There is an acute awareness about the

pitfalls that have plagued development in the rest of Africa. A spokesperson at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was blunt about the penchant for states in post-colonial Africa to build up a centralized and remote bureaucracy in the comfort of Western-style capital cities. Such bureaucracies have too often been an expensive dead weight on the development aspirations of the rural majority.

With this in mind, the new government of Eritrea has already embarked on a radical decentralization, shifting some of its most talented people out of Asmara to run provincial administrations. The dedication of Eritreans to the success of their new country is not hard to see. All upper-level civil servants installed after the collapse of Ethiopian rule are working for 60 birr (\$30) a month in order to give the fledgling treasury some breathing space before the formal ratification of independence by referendum in early 1993. It is hard to imagine any other society in the world where the upper levels of the civil service (and

most of the army as well) would work as virtual volunteers for nearly two years.

Although Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front leader Isaias Afwerki is hugely popular you cannot find his picture in any of the restaurants or bars that dot Asmara's streets. The EPLF has always eschewed the cult of personality to which even the most progressive Third World leaders seem susceptible.

As you make your way down the windy roads that run west out of Asmara to Eritrea's second city, Keran, the national obsession with terracing and reforestation is quickly apparent. Hill after hill shows the fruits of food-for-work programs (a staple of famine relief in this part of the world): regularly interspersed neat stone lines and young saplings to help hold the precious highland soil in place. The sheer variety and ingenuity of water catchment systems is another pillar of Eritrean agricultural policy – micro-dams, settling ponds, handpumps, hand-dug or machine-dug wells, and even elaborate home-made irrigation systems to trap precious water during the rainy season.

As we travel further south into the Ethiopian province of Tigray the story is very much the same – what so much of the world (even the African world) takes for granted is a matter of constant effort throughout these northern highlands. One Tigrayan village is appropriately named Kilishi Inni, which roughly translated means 'too many stones'. Here the women are very careful not to shout or talk too loudly when they are near the well for fear they will scare the water away. This seems like good sense in an area where nature is more whimsical than bountiful.

In Tigray as in Eritrea a mood of determined optimism about making the best of a difficult situation is never far from the surface. Heshe Lemma of the Relief Society of Tigray (REST) can barely contain his enthusiasm when he talks of the agricultural outreach programs that are being made available in rural Tigray for the first time. Farmers here have historically been neglected. Emperor Haile Selassie concentrated wealth and power in Addis Ababa and the Amharic regions of Ethiopia, leaving the poor north to its own devices and hiding its famines from the outside world. And the Dergue that overthrew him was little better: its dreams were of massive state farms churning out export crops to pay for the weapons systems that were so dear to their hearts and so essential to their survival.

'Only now,' says Heshe, becoming very animated, 'are agricultural extension services being made available to the poor peasant farmers who are the backbone of our society.' This could of course be just an official line – but the evidence of our own eyes proves its truth.

Remote Tigrayan villages give new

COUNTRIES OF THE HORN: 2

Ethiopia

POPULATION: 50 million.

HISTORY: The only country in Africa that was never colonized. The royal family – Haile Selassie was the last monarch – traced its lineage back to biblical times and the Queen of Sheba. Their original seat was the Tigrayan highland town of Axum, where they were closely linked to the spiritual power of the Orthodox Church. The centre of power slowly shifted southward to Addis Ababa where the Amharic people of Shoa province dominated government and economy. Colonel Mengistu seized power in a military coup in 1974, promising socialism and equality but delivering war and economic stagnation.

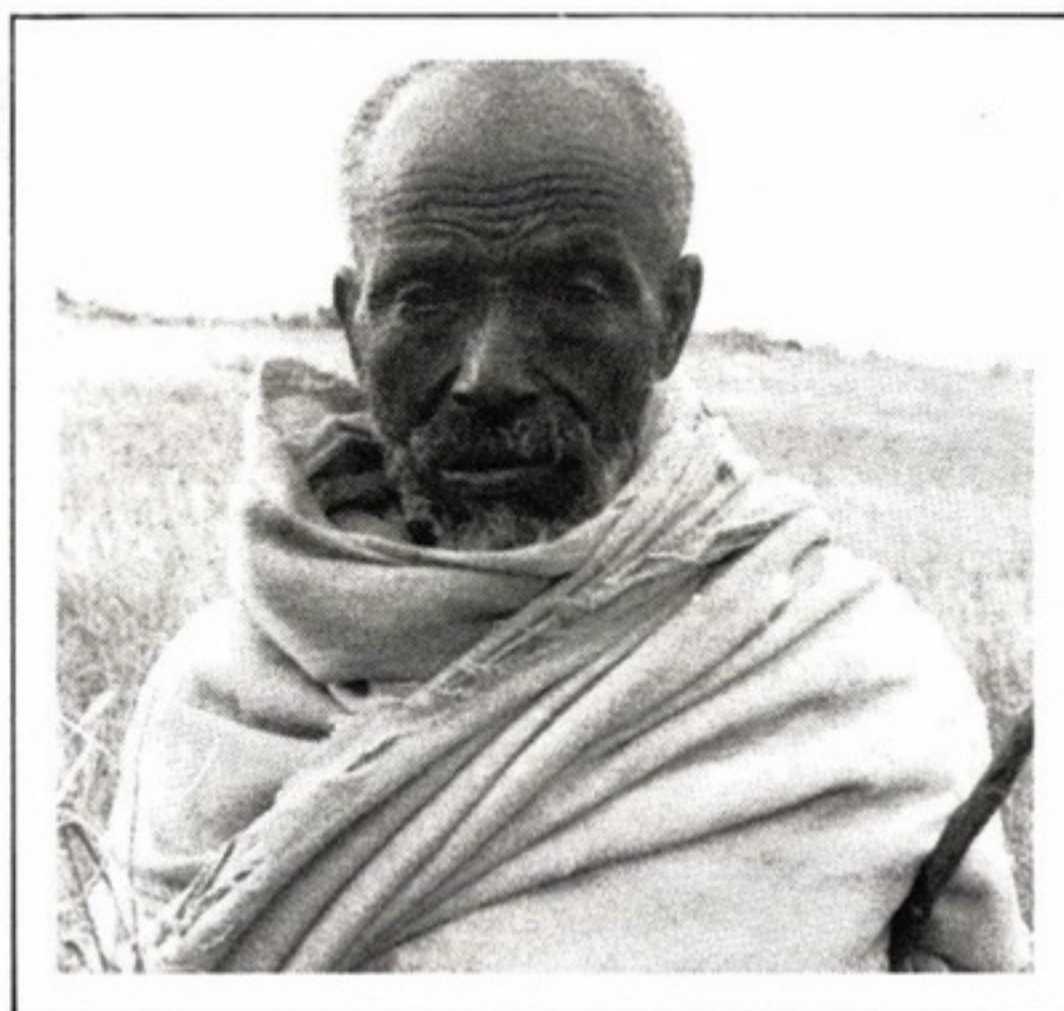
ECONOMY: Primarily agricultural. Most people are either smallholders or nomadic pastoralists. The rate of inflation is low for Africa and the public sector remains important. Any industry is concentrated in pockets around Addis Ababa and a few other centres. During Mengistu's rule military spending increased from one-quarter to one-third of the government budget – this in a country where income per head is \$120 a year and the third lowest in the world. The emphasis on the commercial production of cash crops, particularly coffee, has hurt domestic food production.

POLITICS: When the coalition forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front entered Addis Ababa in May of 1991 it marked the end of a bitter war of resistance against Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam's military government. The new transitional government under Meles Zenawi has promised elections and a radical decentralization of power from Addis to the different ethnic regions. In June 1992 the first local elections were held. But there is armed conflict

between the Government and the Oromo Liberation Front.

BASIC NEEDS: Life expectancy for Ethiopians is just 45 years. Some 84 per cent of the population cannot get safe water. Half are without access to health care and 40 per cent of all children are malnourished. In 1991 more than eight million Ethiopians suffered from serious shortages of food.

HUMAN RIGHTS: Under Mengistu arbitrary arrest, torture and execution were commonplace. During the 'Red Terror' of the 1970s thousands of students and opposition activists were slaughtered in Addis Ababa. In 1983 more than a million people were forcibly resettled from the northern highlands, resulting in at least 100,000 deaths. The situation has improved under the present government, which has gone some way towards restoring the rule of law, although force is still used against political opponents.





NEIL COOPER / PANOS

Girls bear their burden cheerfully – but it's a long way back to the village.

meaning to the word 'outreach'. It's only 30 bone-jarring kilometres between the highland town of Adwa and the little farming village of Mia Kinetal yet it takes us more than two hours. At several points along the road I give up hope that the land cruiser is up to the task, not least when we teeter on two side wheels as we struggle to ford a particularly difficult stream bed.

Once in the village Heshe takes us to its seedbank. As we drink large cups of murky sua – the local brew – REST's agricultural extension officer explains how things work. The system is simple enough. Farmers borrow seeds from the bank the first year and repay it with good seeds from their crops after harvest time. REST's original grant in 1989 provided 4,300 of the 8,000 local farmers with seeds. The extension officer shuffles through a box of carefully maintained records to show that there have been remarkably few defaults despite the poor rainfall last season. The seedbank is particularly important in reducing the vulnerability of the rural population. Hungry farmers are no longer faced with the impossible choice of eating their seeds or being too weak to work in the fields.

Another REST program is the oxen bank – an idea also being tried in Eritrea. This is crucial because oxen are not only essential for animal traction but the main source of capital in cash-poor northern Ethiopia. The cyclical droughts of the 1980s have meant many farmers have been forced to sell their animals or the animals have died of starvation.

The commitments of the Eritrean and Tigrayan liberation movements to the peasant population are understandable. It was these farmers who provided the backbone of resistance to the Dergue. Without their support the military regime in Addis could never have been defeated. But anyway development in these highlands cannot be about mega-projects or dreams of industrial take-off. It must be about survival. Its suc-

cess or failure will be measured by its effect on the rhythms of everyday life – how long it takes to get water from the new well or if there are enough healthy oxen to plow the fields for the whole village.

But commitments to the peasant smallholders can only be guaranteed if the political system gives them real power to shape their own fates. The hope for both Eritrea and Tigray lies in the promise of a grassroots democracy that allows the majority of people a direct say over the decisions that shape both their communities and their lives. But there are risks here. In Eritrea there is no opposition party on the horizon and it would be quite easy to take bureaucratic shortcuts or confine meaningful discussion of policy options to inner circles of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front. Dissent might be taken as subversion. Without a formal political opposition complete freedom of speech, assembly and the press will be essential if democracy is to evolve – as well as grassroots organizations free of party control.

In Tigray the task is even more complex. The Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) is not only responsible for Tigrayan affairs but is a key component of the transitional Ethiopian government in Addis Ababa. The transition to a democratic system in a society like Ethiopia with no such traditions is never easy. It will be made more complicated if the government with its strong Tigrayan roots is seen as favouring Tigray over the other regions of the country. The new government in Addis must deal with the thorny problem of balancing the claims of all Ethiopia's different nationalities and their often quarrelsome political organizations.

Already armed conflict has broken out in southern and eastern Ethiopia between government forces and those of the Oromo Liberation Front – who claim to represent the majority Oromo population. The rights and wrongs of this situation are difficult to work out but the willingness of both parties to resort to military means to solve their disagreements bodes ill for a land badly in need of peace.

Still, both the EPLF and TPLF have shown a willingness to rely on compromise and negotiation rather than administrative decree to solve political problems. Also the democratic expectations of the peoples of Eritrea and Tigray are very high. Zemichael Gebremedhin, who is responsible for social affairs in Tigray, is blunt on this point. He seems somewhat ill at ease sitting over a hotel meal in Mekele – Tigray's lively but very poor capital. 'We have only been out of the bush for a few months,' he says, 'so we are bound to make some mistakes. But one thing is certain: the people of Tigray will never accept an undemocratic system again.'

Ghebre's return

Richard Swift accompanies an Eritrean back to his homeland to discover the perils and the promise for Africa's newest country.

It is 21 June, 1992. After 11 years in exile Ghebre Abbai is returning home to Asmara in his native Eritrea. As the plane banks for its final late-night descent into Addis Ababa airport Ghebre arms himself against what he might find. He is a long way from Victoria, British Columbia, where he now makes his home, and where he earns his living selling electrical appliances. He ponders the fate of friends and relatives with whom he has had little contact for more than a decade. What scars have a decade of war left? What state of mind are people in? He knows that many are no longer alive. He also remembers the cold fear of trying to leave from Addis airport once before.

Those events occurred back in the mid-1970s when he had been working with a



RICHARD SWIFT

Ghebre Abbai: happy to set foot in Asmara after 11 long years in exile.

US company on a highway project in Ethiopia and was transferred to their New York office. After jumping all the bureaucratic hurdles and finally making it to the last immigration barrier, he was tersely told that 'his departure was forbidden'. By whom? he asked. 'Higher up. The Ministry of the Interior,' came the reply. Next morning at the Ethiopian Ministry of the Interior things got considerably worse. He was told to write out his whole life history and subjected to close questioning. Then he was taken to a special 'interrogation' room where many Eritreans and other opponents or supposed opponents of Colonel Mengistu's military government (the Dergue) had gone before.

Fortunately for Ghebre one of the men assigned to put the final, more physical, touches on his interrogation turned out to be a former student from his days as a high school teacher. So Ghebre escaped the Dergue's torture chambers. But his faith in things Ethiopian was shaken beyond repair. He had to leave Addis Ababa and fast. He made his way by bus through Tigray and finally on foot at night, back home to Asmara.

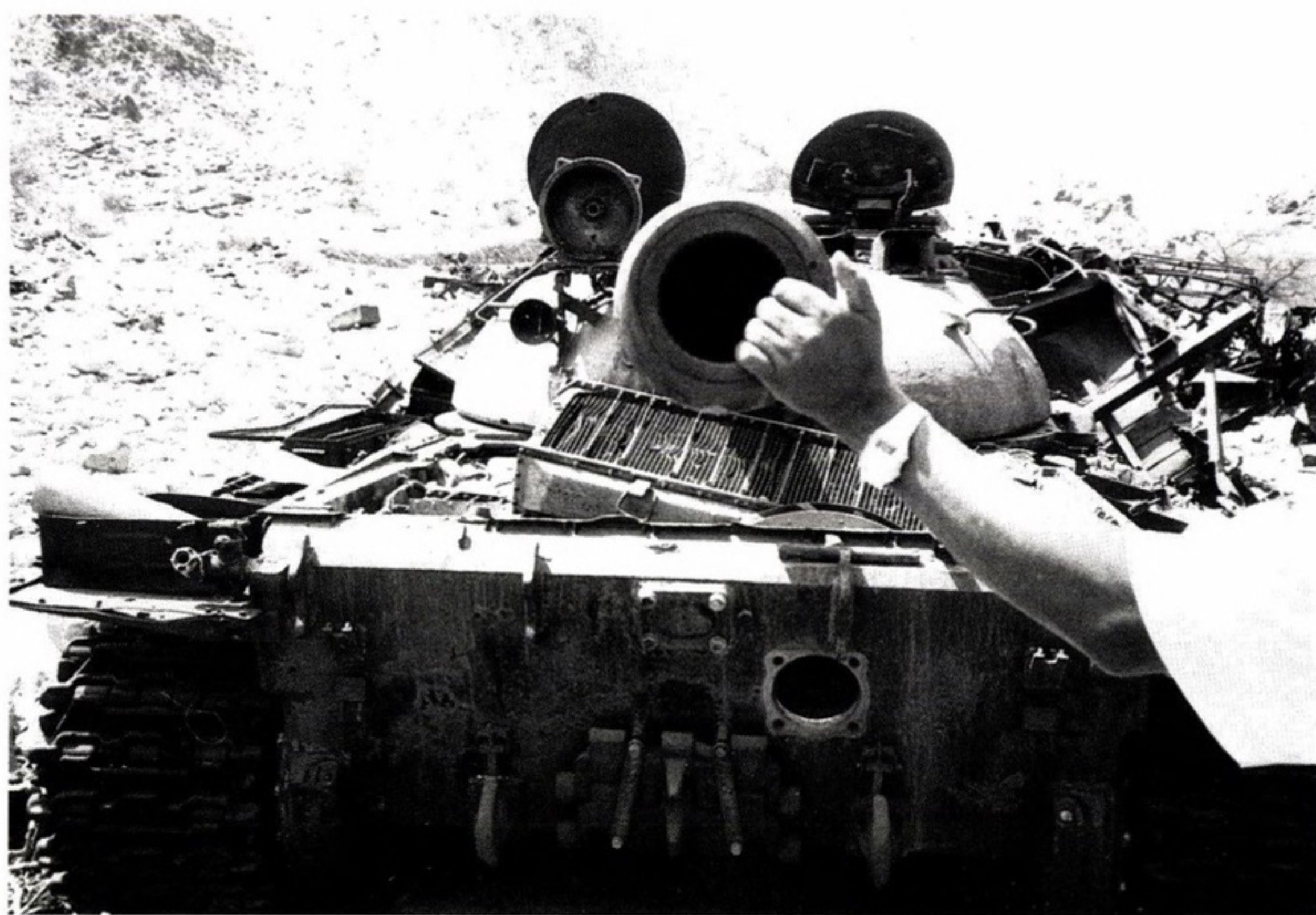
This time the frontier formalities at the airport are just that. Ghebre and I walk through together, to a memorable welcome by the Addis branch of Ghebre's family, complete with flashing cameras.

The next day, as we drive around Addis, Ghebre is incredulous at the deterioration that a decade has wrought. The city is crowded with refugees who fled here from the many fronts of Ethiopia's civil war and who now live and die on the streets. At every traffic light cars are surrounded by beggars and sellers of everything from chewing gum and single cigarettes to five-month-old copies of *Time* and *Newsweek*.

'It's unbelievable,' mutters Ghebre as we pass the scores of unfinished high-rises that last heard the busy sounds of construction four or five years ago. 'They just ran out of money' is the short explanation for the collapse of the Dergue's grandiose development plans under the combined burden of expensive wars, economic failure, recurrent famine and increasingly reluctant Soviet allies. The fact that Addis is an international city that the Organization of African Unity and the UN Economic Commission on Africa both call home, makes the contrast between wealth and poverty all the more acute.

Ghebre muses that the city's chronic housing crisis might be somewhat alleviated if the buildings under construction could be completed and turned over to the homeless. But such a solution defies the market logic so popular these days among major bilateral and multilateral aid donors.

The flight to Asmara leaves late that afternoon. After Addis, Ghebre expects the



RICHARD SWIFT

Wasted metal, wasted lives: the wreckage of the Ethiopian war machine.

worst. But thanks to the care taken by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) never to launch a frontal assault on the city, the beloved streets of the Eritrean capital remain relatively unscathed. The tree-lined boulevards are much as Ghebre remembers and the city has retained a southern Italian flavour complete with the compulsory evening stroll typical of the Mediterranean world.

The people of Eritrea have not been so lucky. Three generations of Eritreans were involved in the struggle for independence. When Ghebre asks one veteran fighter the whereabouts of old friends, he is quietly told 'Don't even ask about the first generation'.

We travel back to Ghebre's village, north of Asmara, past the burnt-out hulls of Ethiopian tanks. Our arrival in Adi Agelgil coincides with the time set aside by Eritreans for mourning the sacrifice made by so many in the independence struggle. The atmosphere is charged with emotion. The men and women of the village are already gathered in separate groups. Below the speeches of the Orthodox priest and other community notables, sobs and the quiet murmur of comforting can periodically be heard. Highland villages like Adi Agelgil were the backbone of support for the EPLF's struggle. With a population numbering no more than a couple of thousand, it lost over 200 people in the war.

But even the serious business of mourning cannot hide the enthusiasm Eritrean people feel about their future. As one person puts it 'many things are possible here'. This sense prevails wherever we go. At the small fishing co-op in the Red Sea port of

Massawa one woman eagerly explains the possibilities for the fishery and how it can help with Eritrea's chronic food deficit. And Dr Nerayo of the Eritrean Relief Association, although frank about problems of family size and the still difficult position of women, is enthusiastic about the development of indigenous non-government organizations to address these and other issues.

Likewise farmers and foresters in the southern town of Adi Kaieh take great pains to explain how the terracing and reforestation programmes are revitalizing the land and easing the burdens of a difficult climate. But mostly it is the brief day-to-day encounters with people as they go about their tasks that give a sense of hope and renewal. Walking the streets of Asmara with Ghebre is like being with a popular mayoralty candidate in the middle of an election. There are constant greetings, the slapping of backs, the affectionate rubbing of shoulders. It is partly the man himself – with his easy laugh and the mischievous look in the eyes. But it is also people's comfortable sense of finally being captains of their own fate. It brings out the best in them.

Ghebre has it in mind to visit the site of his last job in Eritrea, at the agro-industrial complex on the Keren-Asmara road known as Elaboret. He was once manager of the farm – in fact helped rebuild it and keep it alive as war raged all around it. At one point there had been 1,000 Ethiopian troops stationed on the farm, and separate parts of it were in the hands of the two different factions of the guerilla movement. The delicate

task of negotiating between groups of armed men and various parts of the Ethiopian bureaucracy had certainly spiced up Ghebre's already arduous job. His views on politics could have cost him his life.

Today Elaboret remains one of the few agro-industries in Eritrea producing such vital things as tomato paste, dairy products, green vegetables, mangoes and even apples. At one point it even produced wine. It is an irrigated oasis in an agricultural desert and an important provider of local employment.

When the workers discover that Ghebre is back, they drop whatever they are doing and run to greet their former manager. The new manager takes us around and Ghebre remarks how things have deteriorated in the past decade. It is a moving experience for Ghebre, bringing back memories of the circumstances that caused him to flee his homeland – when the tension of running the farm in the middle of a war became almost unbearable. The chances of being shot by the Ethiopian military for 'economic sabotage' were ever present: a crop failure, too little rain, a collapsed building, too many broken tractors – one never knew what might be the cause. Finally a late shipment of tomato-paste containers made things very difficult indeed.

Ghebre was allowed to leave the country and never came back. Today he says nostalgically that being manager at Elaboret was the most satisfying job he ever had.

Ghebre has an eye for the little things that tell you a lot about a place – like how clean the streets are, the lack of visible weapons or even many EPLF soldiers, the old Fiat cabs that date from the mid-1950s, and the ferocious work ethic that Eritreans are famous for. As we make our way up from Massawa and the Red Sea, with an African dusk quickly descending, he shakes his head and wonders out loud. 'No roadblocks or permits. I can't believe it's actually safe to travel on these roads, even at night.'

Although Ghebre no longer lives in Eritrea he often has ideas to improve this or that aspect of life in his native country. But his energy and enthusiasm for his homeland remain thousands of miles from realization. His family is now Canadian and his three daughters have only the remotest memories of Africa. Many other Eritreans are in the same position throughout North America, Europe and the Middle East, for wherever there is war there are few human rights or opportunities, and there are many refugees. Individuals pay the human costs of exile in the sadness of separation. Societies pay the costs of exile in the absence of the skills and the spirit of those who have left. One day soon, Ghebre hopes, he will find a way to stay in Eritrea for a year or so and make his contribution felt. ■

Native stranger

Women fought side by side with men to liberate Eritrea. Now they are in a new struggle to make sure women's rights remain a vital part of the Eritrean revolution. Elsa Gebreyesus went to do her part.

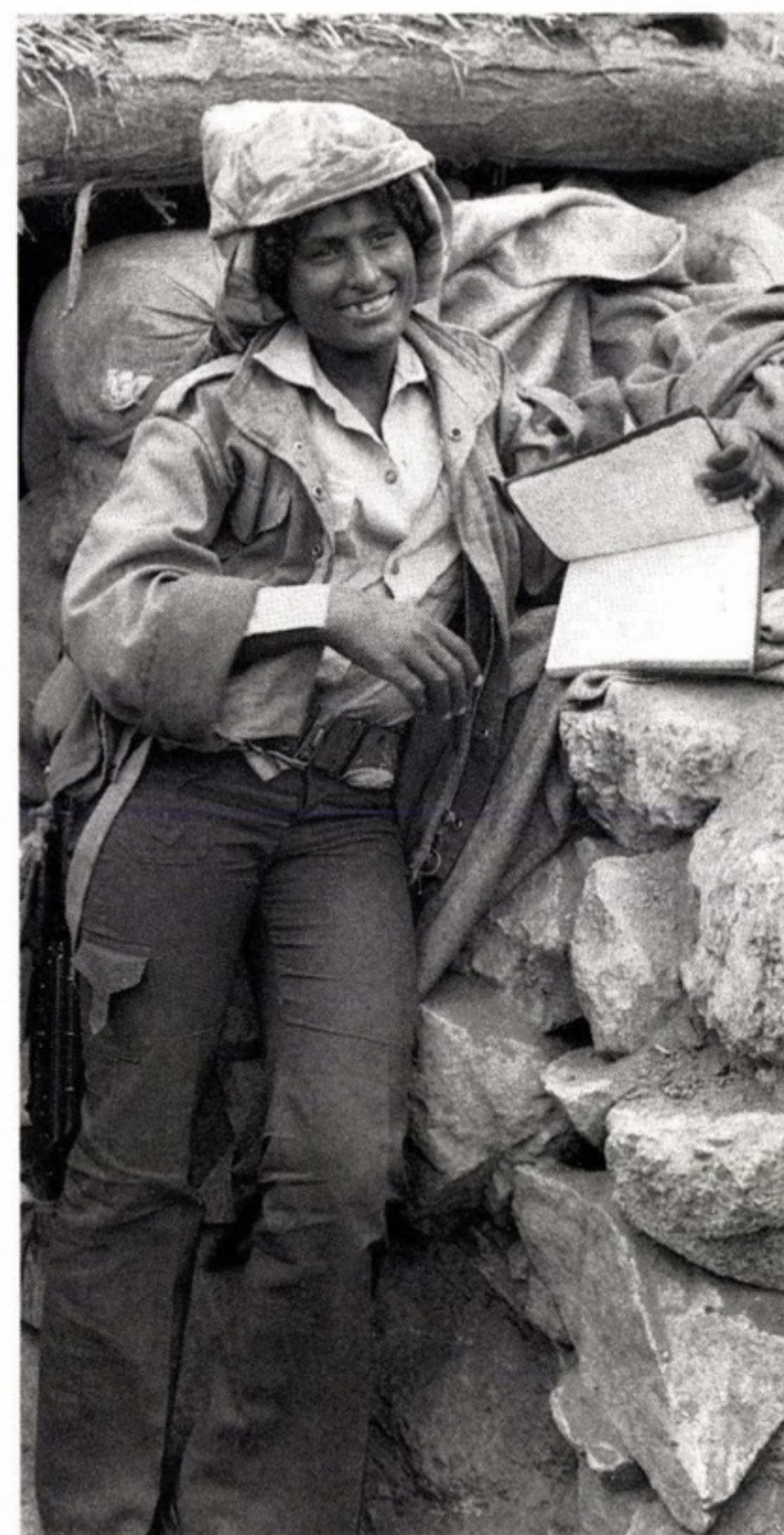
THE high-pitched ululation splits the quiet morning air at Asmara airport. As we cross the tarmac, the woman in front of me pauses to express her joy at returning home to Eritrea after who knows how many years of exile. For me, an Eritrean by heritage, it is the first time on my native soil. Tears trickle down my face and I join her ululations.

I was not born in Eritrea, but instead grew up moving from country to country, eventually settling in Canada. But my primary identity was always Eritrean, even if I only saw my homeland in pictures or on maps. Most of the people I know back in North America have no idea what it feels like to learn another culture, language and way of life while trying to keep one's own precious culture and customs alive. But now I have come to see with my own eyes the birth pangs of my people as together we take the first steps towards becoming an independent nation.

Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, is our largest city with some 350,000 people, but it has more the feel of a big neighbourhood. Those who live there behave like



Elsa Gebreyesus: her first time in Eritrea but it still feels more like home than Canada.



TUDOR LOMAS / CAMERA PRESS

members of an extended family giving life a lightness and a warm sense of security. For me this contrasts sharply with the West where there is little empathy and strangers are ghosts or apparitions that happen to occupy the same time and space.

I had expected that years of famine and military rule would leave people obsessed by how much death and devastation had been visited upon this one small place. Or perhaps recent violence would not loosen its grip, leaving people volatile and likely to strike out at any time. To my surprise I saw nothing but patience in people's eyes, heard nothing but gentleness in their voices and hope in their words.

I had promised myself that when I returned I would work with the women of Eritrea. How do Eritrean women live in a strict patriarchal culture where traditions are lead weights on their minds, bodies and souls? Was there something in me that came from them – perhaps this was a source of the strength I had used in overcoming my own barriers.

I knew that the women of Eritrea had an equal claim with men to self-determination. They earned that status in the liberation struggle. So I contacted the foreign office of the National Union of Eritrean Women (NUEW) and offered my services.

Freedom did not come easily to Eritrea. This I know when I see the hundreds of fighters wounded by the war, or the massive destruction of some of our cities. The

ELSA GEBREYESUS

price of our freedom is counted in lives lost – not least the lives of women. The level of women's participation in the Eritrean liberation war was unique. Women overcame deeply rooted patriarchal traditions to stand with men on the Nacfa front or join in the attack on Massawa.

Women's participation increased as the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) replaced the more religious-based Eritrean Liberation Front in the forefront of the war. By 1979 women were 13 per cent of the fighters and 30 per cent of the EPLF as a whole. These women were no mere support group for men. They were trained to use different types of arms and worked as mechanics, drivers and doctors.

This took a lot of work on everyone's part. Both men and women had to leap a number of cultural and social barriers. Men simply did not believe that women had the emotional and physical strength to fight. Many women were themselves unsure.

I believe that the femininity of women fighters was strengthened by their ability to endure hardship. All soldiers lived with death staring them in the face and with few in the outside world knowing or caring about the horror of their war. But in one way the women were better off than men.

For men, to let out their emotions, admit their fears and cry was a sign of weakness. They had to hide these feelings. Women, on the other hand, did cry. Despite all their training as soldiers, they were never afraid to weep after overcoming difficult situations, and so were stronger to move on.

The first thing a woman did on arriving at the front was to cut off her hair – culturally a sign of beauty. This eliminated any outward sign of physical attractiveness and was not only a practical step but a symbolic action, severing ties to past social beliefs and strengthening present commitments.

A new form of gender-neutral greeting also evolved in the field. In Eritrean culture women kiss three times on the cheek and men shake hands – unless they know each other well, in which case they also kiss. But in the field the new form of greeting became the shoulder kiss whereby people rub and bump shoulders while shaking hands. This genderless greeting is beautiful to watch and has eliminated the social uncertainty of whom to kiss and whom not to.

Innovations were also made in religious practices to eliminate divisions but still keep ceremonies sacred. Everyone who joined the EPLF, whether Christian or Muslim, had to distinguish their loyalty to liberation from personal loyalties. So it was decided that at all sacred ceremonies which involved fighters the space formerly occupied by prayer would be occupied by silence. This respected everyone's point of view, while creating a binding ritual for those who believed in liberation.

In many Third World countries where women participated in the liberation struggle but found their rights placed on the back burner once independence had been achieved. It is only natural to ask what precautions Eritrean women are taking to avoid this fate.

They are up against a deeply rooted patriarchal culture which traditionally gives them little chance to be independent. From early childhood young girls are taught their 'inherent' roles as respectable daughters, wives, mothers and home-makers. Their families are expected to come first. And often an individual woman is identified as her father's daughter, which erases her individuality. These paternal strings affect a woman's future marriage or inheritance and her respectability, and women are forever on their guard not to do or say anything that might be considered unfitting. So

they evolve a double personality – one that knows what to say when dealing with the outside world, and one with opinions and dreams hidden deep inside.

Organizations like the National Union of Eritrean Women (NUEW) are well aware of the issues women will have to face. At present they are establishing themselves as an independent grassroots organization able to lead the fight. The Union is not wealthy but is supported by a loyal and growing membership.

I have faith in a positive future for women in Eritrea. The tradition of women's resistance has forged a new identity for them that can never be erased. Now they have begun the long journey towards self-empowerment and liberation, my hope is that they will never be stopped. ■

Elsa Gebreyesus works as a project officer with the National Union of Eritrean Women in Asmara.

COUNTRIES OF THE HORN: 3

Eritrea

POPULATION: 4 million.

HISTORY: Eritrea was the object of imperial competition between Egypt, Ethiopia, Italy and the UK in the nineteenth century. It became an Italian colony in 1889 and stayed that way until 1941. It was not granted independence but federated to neighbouring Ethiopia by the UN. In 1962 Ethiopia abrogated this loose federation and forcibly annexed the territory. Armed resistance, led initially by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), has continued for 30 years. In the early 1970s leftist radicals split off from the more Muslim-dominated ELF to form the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) which quickly became the main force in the Eritrean struggle for independence. The war – which has cost the lives of 100,000 Ethiopian and 50,000 Eritrean troops – ended with Eritrean victory in 1991.

ECONOMY: Subsistence-based, dependent on pastoralism and rain-fed agriculture. A history of basic industrial production dates back to Italian colonial days and the country has a skilled, motivated workforce. Eritrea possesses gold, uranium and copper deposits and there is great potential for the development of the Red Sea fishery, which would help the chronic food deficit. When Eritrea becomes independent in 1993 it may be one of the only countries in the world without a national debt.

POLITICS: The EPLF is the only party but is committed to a multi-party democracy after the referendum on independence scheduled for April 1993. The EPLF is worried though by the potential for ethnic or religious-based parties, given the inter-communal strife in the rest of the region. Such parties are likely to be prohibited. Given the popularity of the EPLF and interim president Isaias Afwerki it is unlikely that strong opposition parties will emerge in the short term. Eritrean democracy will have to rely on grassroots organiza-

tions and a free and critical press – to keep those in power accountable.

BASIC NEEDS: Eritrea has a serious food deficit problem – with some 80 per cent of its population dependent on food aid. In 1992 two million people faced severe food shortages. Recurrent drought has meant the loss of up to 80 per cent of livestock in some areas. Clean water supply is a serious problem throughout the country. Recovery from war damage remains a major undertaking. Thousands of deadly land mines remain to be defused.

HUMAN RIGHTS: By and large the EPLF has a good human-rights record and does not rely on arbitrary arrest and police methods to solve its problems. There have been excesses in the treatment of those close to the Ethiopian occupation forces. After liberation the children of Eritrean women married to Ethiopian soldiers were expelled from Eritrea – causing great hardship for both mothers and children. The trick for the EPLF (or whatever political party emerges from it) will be to prevent autocratic habits of rule developing in a situation where there will be no opposition party to keep them honest.



ELSA GEBREYESUS

THE VICTIMS



DEATHS¹

- Between 1982 and 1992 two million people died in the Horn of Africa due to a combination of war and famine.
- Since 1983 the combined effect of war and famine has killed more than a million Sudanese.
- Over 100,000 Ethiopians died as a result of their forced resettlement by their own government in 1983.
- During Eritrea's 30-year war of independence 100,000 Ethiopian soldiers were killed and 50,000 Eritrean combatants lost their lives.



AT RISK

- By the end of 1991 around 4.5 million people in Somalia were at serious risk from famine.²
- There are 25,000 street children living rough in the Sudanese capital Khartoum.³
- By 1992 some 23 million people in the region as a whole were endangered by food shortages.⁴

ON THE RUN⁵

- Ethiopia has some 375,000 refugees from Sudan, mostly recent, plus an equivalent number from Somalia.
- There are still 750,000 Ethiopian refugees in Sudan though another 340,000 have returned to Ethiopia since the overthrow of the Mengistu dictatorship.
- There are over 100,000 Somali and Ethiopian refugees in tiny Djibouti.
- Somalia has nearly 2 million internally displaced people.

THE CAUSES

The governments of the Horn have been spending lavishly on weapons yet many of their peoples' basic needs remain unmet.



Soldiers per 1,000 of the population (1990)⁶

Years between 1960-90

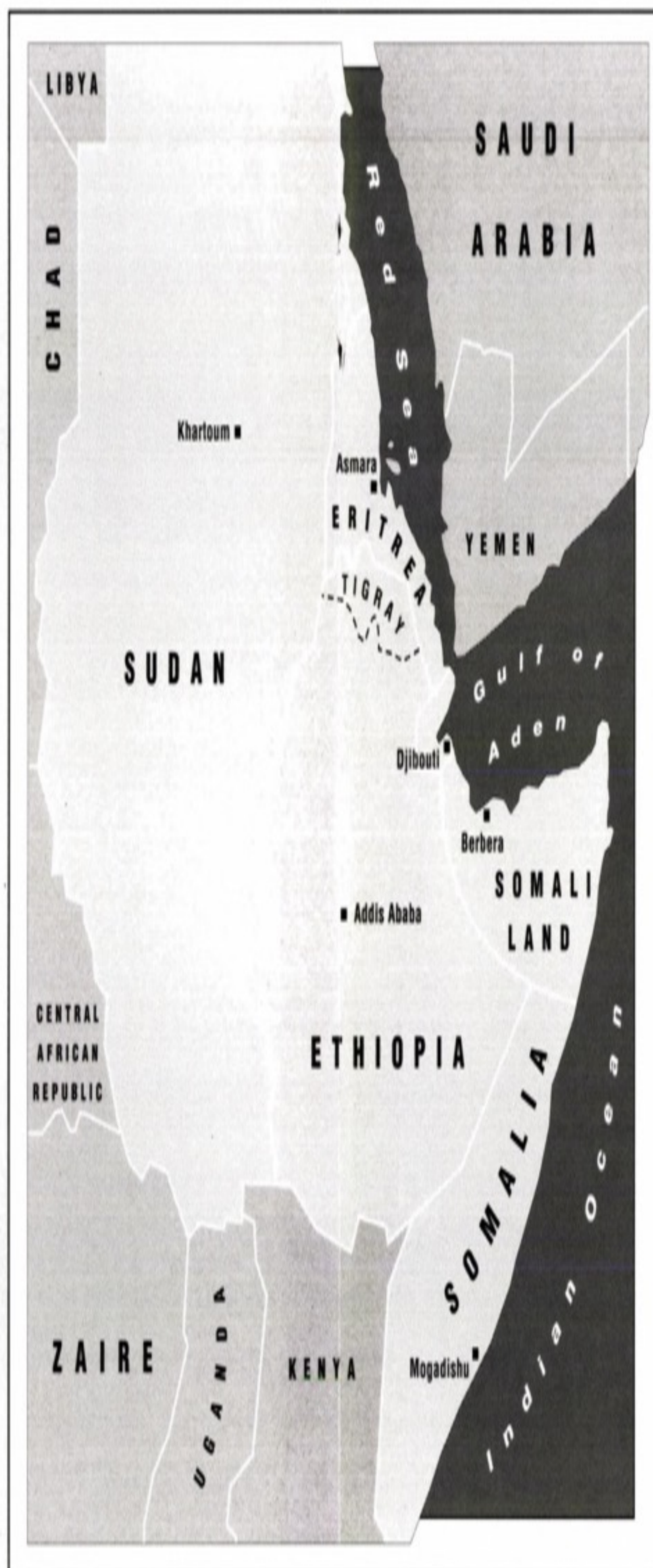
	Soldiers (per 1000)	Years under military rule	Years at war	Number of deaths (1000s)
Ethiopia	7.0	17	25	609
Sudan	3.1	25	17	1,006
Somalia	8.7	22	3	55

Percent of GNP spent on military, health and education (1987)⁷

	Military	Health	Education
Ethiopia	8.8	1.3	4.2
Somalia	2.2	0.2	0.6
Sudan	6.0	0.2	4.2
Australia	2.7	5.5	5.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	4.2	1.1	3.9

- In Somalia social spending was cut by 75% between 1974 and 1988. Between 1977 and 1986 arms imports accounted for more than 49% of all imports.⁸

The modern plague of militarism lies at the root of human tragedy for the Horn and its people. The NI considers the causes and counts the costs.



THE POLITICS

Both superpowers have used the people of the Horn as pawns on the chessboard of Cold War politics over the last two decades.

US aid to Horn dictators as a percentage of overall aid to their countries.⁹

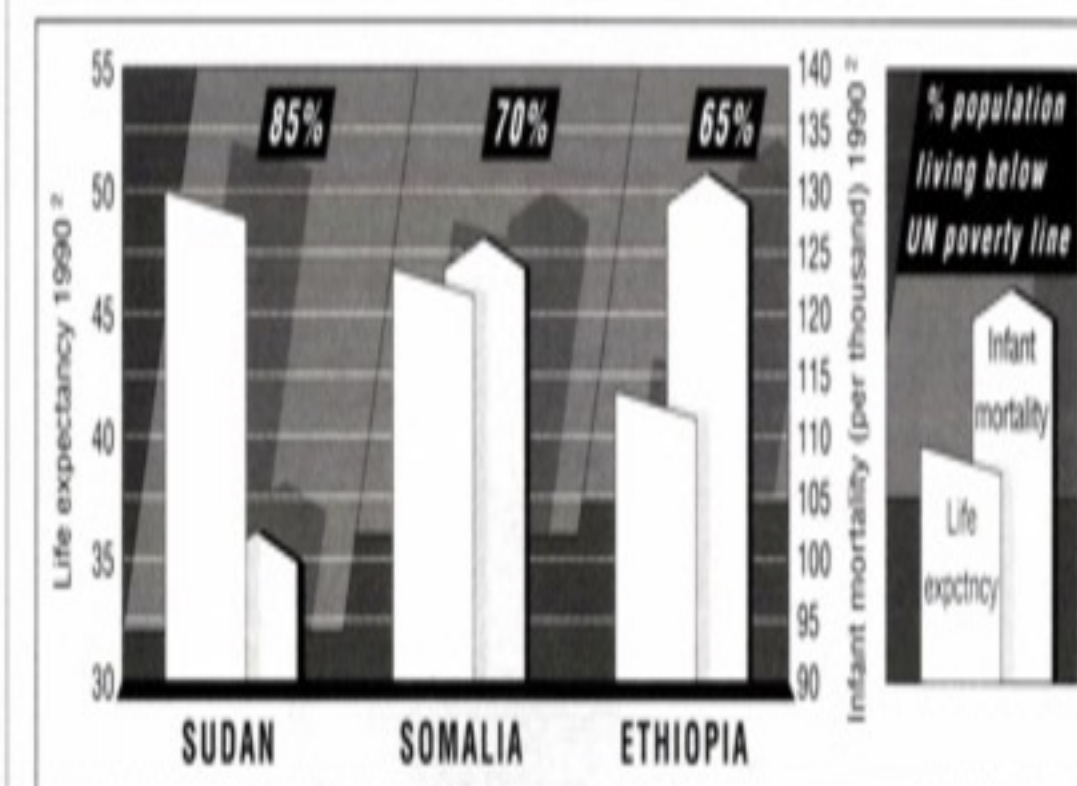
Siad Barre (Somalia)	Gaafar al-Nimeiry (Sudan)	Haile Selassie (Ethiopia)
93%	80%	56%

- In the 1980s the Ethiopian Government received one billion dollars a year in military aid from the Soviet Union. Over 50% of the revenues received by the Ethiopian Government in the Mengistu years went to the military.¹⁰
- In the decade from 1979 to 1989 the US provided Somalia with over half a billion dollars worth of arms.¹¹

THE ECONOMY

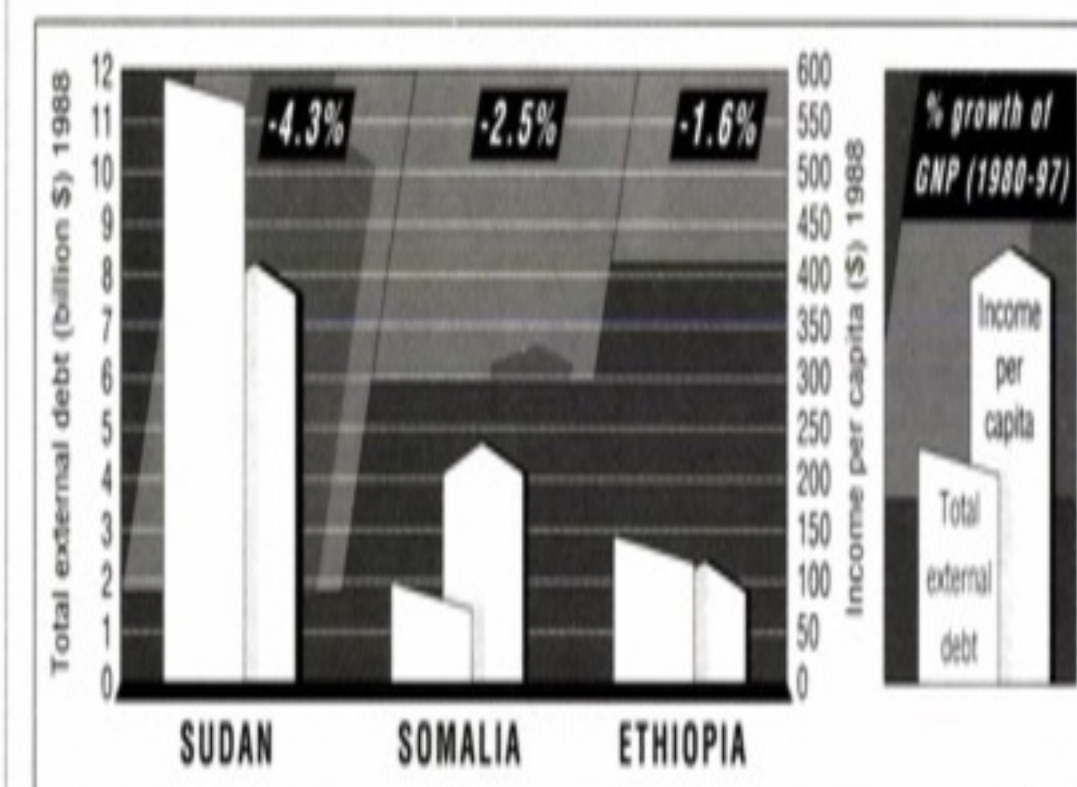
POVERTY

The people of the Horn number some 50 million and are among the poorest in the world.



ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Horn economies are doing badly, even by African standards. Ethiopia's total income per capita is third lowest in the world.¹³



CASH CROPS¹⁴

Horn economies depend on one or two key exports.

Sudan - Cotton 50% of total exports.

Ethiopia - Coffee 80% of foreign exports.

Somalia - Bananas and livestock over 50% of exports

THE FUTURE

A sustainable future for the Horn depends on a healthy environment and modest population growth.¹⁵



DEFORESTATION

- At the turn of the century some 40% of Ethiopia was covered by forests compared with 2.7% today.
- Sudan has lost 31,000 square kilometres of wooded land per year over the last decade.
- In 1989 alone the amount of forest in northern Sudan which became desert could have supplied 25% of the country's annual wood needs.

POPULATION

The Horn of Africa is nearly half the size of the US with a combined population of some 75 million. By the year 2025 the population is projected to be 195 million. Nearly half the current population is under 15 years of age.

¹ John Prendergast, *Peace, Development, and People of the Horn of Africa* (Centre of Concern, Washington, 1992)
² Prendergast, op. cit. 3 Samia el Hadi El Naar, 'Children and War in the Horn of Africa', in Lionel Cliffe et al., ed. *Beyond Conflict in the Horn* (Red Sea Press, Trenton, 1992) 4 Prendergast, op. cit. 5 Prendergast, op. cit. 6 Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, (World Priorities, Washington, 1991) 7 Sub-Saharan Africa: from Crisis to Sustainable Growth, (World Bank, Washington, 1989) 8 Jeffery A. Lefebvre, *Arms for the Horn*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991) 9 Michael Clough, *Free at Last? US Policy Towards Africa and the End of the Cold War* (Council on Foreign Relations, N.Y. 1992) 10 Lefebvre, op. cit. 11 Prendergast, op. cit. 12 World Development Report, (World Bank, 1992) 13 Sub-Saharan Africa, op. cit. 14 *The African Review* (Hunter Publishing, 1991-92, New Jersey) 15 Prendergast, op. cit.

Caught in the crossfire

Arthur Howes tells how a peaceful people in the Nuba Mountains have found themselves at the front line of Sudan's bitter civil war.



ARTHUR HOWES

Happier days for Kafi (centre) and his brothers, the subjects of Arthur Howes' TV film.

ONCE lived in Sudan for two years working as an English teacher in the Nuba Mountains. It was a time of peace and prosperity. I worked in Kadugli, a market town that marks the end of Islamic and Arab Sudan, and the beginning of the diverse lifestyles, languages and African cultures of southern Sudan.

Geographically right in the middle of the country, the Nuba Mountains are inhabited by hill communities of at least a million people spread over an area roughly the size of Scotland. The difficulty of getting to these mountains has kept the Nuba people isolated within Sudan. Neither the Islam of the North or the Christianity of the South has been successful in capturing their imagination. The Nuba have been peripheral to the main currents of Sudanese life and politics, considering themselves to be neither northerners or southerners, and have been practically forgotten by the administration in Khartoum.

During the first civil war between north and south – it went on for 17 years after independence from Britain in 1955 – the inaccessibility of the mountains left the Nuba unscathed. The rainfall is plentiful

here and the good soil ensures sufficient food throughout the year. The men break the ground for cultivation, look after the cattle and build houses while the women sow the seed, make pots and grind millet. Nuba society is co-operative, democratic and egalitarian, with an emphasis on traditional cultural events and a strong belief in the natural goodness of things.

I was a good friend of Gedia. I remember the first conversation I had with him, when he asked to see my gun. He said he had lived in Khartoum and had been to the cinema several times and every single white person he'd ever seen had a gun. Gedia was a popular wrestler and many songs had been composed in his honour. We spent most of the dry season walking to different festivities and wrestling games in neighbouring villages. I took photographs and with the occasional electricity we had in Kadugli developed and exhibited them in the mountains as a way of returning them to the people.

Six years later I returned to Sudan to work as a camera operator for a Sudanese film director. The film was to highlight the abuse and misuse of the Islamic or Sharia

Laws. The director thought that the work would be too dangerous for a local crew and that with a foreign camera operator it would be easier to get away if the filming got rough. The political situation had changed drastically in Sudan. After ten years of peace there was war again in the south. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army, the SPLA, were fighting against the policies of Arabization and the Islamic Laws implemented in 1983 by the now deposed president Gaafar al-Nimeiry. These laws included stoning to death for adultery, amputations for theft and death for apostasy – the crime of renouncing Islam.

In December 1983 3,000 people in Khartoum witnessed a public amputation: two soldiers dressed in surgical theatre aprons chopped off the hands of two young men with sterilized knives. The chopped hands were raised for a cheering and applauding public to see.

Many Muslims opposed these laws. In a country with over 300 ethnic groups and a 40-per-cent non-Muslim population, the laws caused massive unrest. When we started filming there were more than 200 Islamic-law amputees and 700 on the wait-

ing list. The majority of these men were non-Muslims, southerners and Christians.

Our guide throughout the filming was John Luke. He was an articulate student, a Catholic from the Dinka tribe in southern Sudan. At 23 he was one of the first Sharia amputees, wrongly accused of stealing a piece of balsa wood from Khartoum University. Weeks after the amputation it was discovered he was innocent.

Eventually the filming had to be stopped. John Luke had been threatened and our director had fallen ill with hepatitis. The exposed film was left in a fridge in Khartoum. That same evening we decided to escape the politics and paranoia of the city and travel south to the Nuba Mountains. We travelled with a group of Nuba friends who had been working in the city as servants but were homesick and desperate to return to the mountains.

One travels by negotiating rides on the

back of merchant lorries, sometimes balancing on a pyramid of cargo, sometimes surrounded by sheep. When we reached Kadugli I visited the house of a man who had taught English with me six years before: he was no longer at home, having given up teaching and joined the SPLA. We heard that the SPLA had now declared the Nuba Mountains to be War Zone Two. They were gaining ground and in control of the area south of Torogi. There were rumours of SPLA attacks, of burning lorries, of looting, of government-funded militia bandits, and of Dinka boys castrated for refusing to become Muslim.

As we drove into War Zone Two, the giant baobab trees indicated the proximity of the mountains. Four weeks after we'd left Khartoum we arrived in Torogi. There it was reassuring and peaceful. Children waved as the lorry approached and men and women were busy threshing the millet.

That year's harvest had been good and people wanted to celebrate as if there was no war. But their songs told of their fears:

*Last year there was no war in the world
This year there is hard war
All the world has governments
Before in the south there was no government
At dawn the youth are taken to war
The woman is at home
The bomb from far away kills the woman
People die like flies
The birds descend to eat the people.*

Throughout that dry season war moved slowly closer. An army garrison arrived and with the SPLA advancing it became apparent that the next phase of the war was going to be fought on our doorstep. The Nuba people, though disassociated from the conflict, were now unwillingly in the front line. The mountains seemed vulnerable and no longer strong enough to resist the disruption. On many nights we could hear from Torogi the gunfire between the Army and the SPLA. I recorded the Nuba elders singing this song:

*And you ask me
What are these out-of-season rains?
These are not the rains but the spears of the Anyanya
The world becomes bad
There is one man who does not want to go to war
If you want me to fight
You must take me by a rope around my neck
and pull me there.
I will not go.....*

We made a film called *Kafi's Story* – an account of a young Nuba man from Torogi who travelled to Khartoum to earn money to buy a wedding dress for his second wife. Kafi, the main protagonist, took the cassette recorder and talked and talked. It is this intimate monologue that serves as the film's narration. Though the fighting was close, people in Torogi attempted to go about their lives. Kafi's concerns were for his domestic arrangements – the infidelity of his first wife and his love for his two wives. People were forcing themselves to believe that they could carry on as usual, that one morning they would wake and find the army garrison and the SPLA gone.

I left at the start of the rainy season, but promised I would return the following year. I would bring a projector and generator, and we would have the first screening of the film in the mountains. Since then I have not been allowed to return to Sudan.

On 30 June 1989 I heard the news that an Islamic fundamentalist junta led by General Omar al-Bashir had seized power

COUNTRIES OF THE HORN: 4

Sudan

POPULATION: 23.8 million.

HISTORY: There has always been a troubled relationship between the Arabic north of the country and the African south. In the early nineteenth century northern merchants from Khartoum joined British and Egyptian slaving expeditions. From 1925 British colonial policy kept the north and south strictly segregated to avoid the spread of Arab nationalism. Stiff resistance to the British in the north followed General Gordon's defeat at the Battle of Omdurman. Since independence in 1955 Sudanese politics have been dominated by northern Arabs, mostly from the favoured central region. The African south has fought two civil wars. The lively democratic political culture of urban Sudan has been fractured by the rise to power of two military dictators, Colonel Nimeiry in 1969 and the Islamic fundamentalist General Omar al-Bashir in 1989.

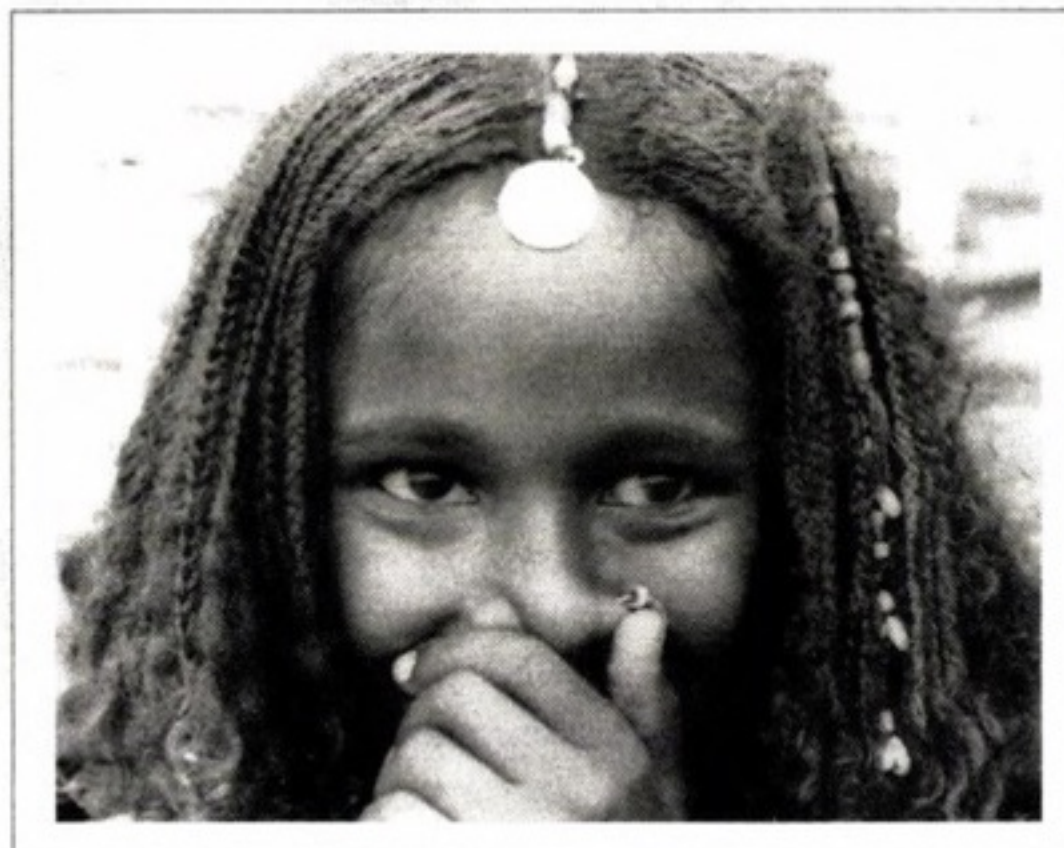
ECONOMY: Primarily agricultural, although there are untapped oil reserves in the South. Most farmers are smallholders or nomads. Cotton – the main cash crop – is grown in the fertile central region between the White and Blue Niles. The country contains some of the best agricultural land in the region. Its potential led Sudan to take on a heavy debt burden and an ambitious programme of agricultural mechanization aimed at turning it into 'the bread basket' of the Middle East. The result has been the displacement of smallholder food producers, the disruption of nomadic grazing patterns and the increasing inability of the country to feed itself.

POLITICS: The National Islamic Front (NIF) militantly supports a programme of Islamicization. The merchant-backed NIF has used its economic power and control over the banking system to impose its programme in a country which is only partly Muslim and has quite secular political traditions. They are the main sup-

porters of General Omar al-Bashir. The programme of Islamicization guarantees civil war with the non-Muslim south.

BASIC NEEDS: War and famine have killed nearly a million Sudanese since 1983 and at least three million southerners have fled their homes. Forty per cent of Sudanese babies are underweight at birth, a figure among the worst in Africa. Malnutrition rates in many areas exceed 80 per cent. Between 9 and 11 million Sudanese were endangered by famine in 1991, according to the US Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance.

HUMAN RIGHTS: Arbitrary arrest, torture and execution of political opponents are commonplace. Strict 'Sharia' law punishments have been applied to non-Muslims. In the south and west of the country the arming of tribal militias and military action by all sides have violated the most basic norms of personal security. In the late 1980s, in the southern province of Bahr al Ghazal, Arab militias armed by the Government butchered or enslaved thousands of Dinkas from neighbouring villages. The opposition Sudanese People's Liberation Army has also been criticized for authoritarian rule in the areas that it controls.



in Sudan. Since then all political parties and trade unions have been declared illegal, press freedom has disappeared and thousands have been rounded up. The war has intensified and Sudan has suffered nearly twice as many casualties as died at Hiroshima.

I reapplied for a visa but was refused again. The Nuba Mountains had been sealed off and the ruthless Baggara militia given a free hand to steal cattle and burn Nuba villages – the Baggara are Muslims of Arab descent and considered racially acceptable to the regime. Within a year 60,000 Nuba people had been driven away from their homes. In 1991 famine hit the Nuba Mountains. No aid and no food relief was allowed. A letter smuggled out of Kadugli in September 1991 reported that 'the relief programme in Khartoum was informed that the Nuba people in Southern Kordofan did not require relief aid – having plentiful supplies of food. As a result there are severe food shortages. The population is now starving to death and is reduced to eating the baobab trees.'

The Nuba believe they will be driven out and their land turned into grazing pasture for the Baggara. But there may be more at stake than grazing pasture. Such a population shift would put the abundant oil fields just south of the Nuba mountains and the rich mineral wealth of the mountains in Baggara territory. In the nineteenth century the North coveted the South for its ivory and slaves – today it is oil, uranium and other mineral wealth which draws its eyes.

Despite a government information blackout, news from the Nuba Mountains still leaks out. In March and June this year, over 5,000 Nuba were forcibly trucked out of the mountains, half ending up in the desert in northern Kordofan. In April the Nuba Mountains Organization Abroad estimated that over 10,000 Nuba children have been kidnapped by the militia and are being held in Shikan camp in the north where they are undergoing military training and being indoctrinated in Islamic fundamentalist principles. Some fear that these boy soldiers could ultimately be ordered to kill their own people.

In the last few years *Kafi's Story* has been seen by TV viewers in Zimbabwe, Holland, Germany and Britain. I have no way of contacting Kafi and know nothing of what happened to him or his family. But I often think of the last words of his monologue: 'If anyone by the grace of God hears these words in London they will know they are the words of Kafi. I have been filmed a lot. The tape is full up of Kafi. Kafi at last goes. Goodbye. Goodbye. Goodbye. It is difficult. Later you will say – where is Kafi?'

Arthur Howes is a London-based film-maker.

No home on the range

The nomads of the Horn are caught between drought and an unsympathetic state – John Galaty tells their story.



IN the space of 200 kilometres north of Nairobi the lush highland farms give way to vast wheatfields, the fields to dry lowland plains, the plains to bush and finally the bush to desert.

It's June 1992 and once again the rains have failed. Boulders, volcanic gravel, stunted thorn amidst flows of sand, barren hills, rocky mountains. In the best of times this stern landscape offers rich grazing for the camels, goats and sheep on which the nomads of the Horn of Africa can survive, even thrive. But this is the worst of times. Animals stumble, fall and die before reaching water. People move from distant corners of sparse vegetation to barren settlements where famine relief is a poor substitute for food from their own herds.

Years after we last met I am searching for an old friend. Lugh, with his family, inhabits the borderland between plateau and lowlands, between plains and desert, between the land of cattle and the land of camel and goat. Though he also once owned camels, Lugh now specializes in raising cattle, sheep and goats – whose grazing patterns are more easily co-ordinated. He has waited for us for several days in a small trading centre where he knows we can find him. He's slightly balder and thinner but the same wide smile greets us as we arrive. Though it's late in a hot day we drive another hour down a track to a lonely shop where we leave the vehicle. Then it's two more hours of trekking through dry hills to home – a circle of thornbranches

and five squat houses.

But where are the cattle? The cattle are gone. Where is the rest of the family, the neighbours and friends? The last encampment broke up, scattered by drought and wind. Though we have brought food, we are offered hospitality; near-black tea, sweetened and laced with the little goat's milk that remains. The years have not been good to this proud and once rich man. Goats and sheep are the animals of poverty but they are also tokens of hope. They resist drought and are quick to reproduce. Many rich families trade down to goats and sheep as drought progresses, then trade up to cattle when pastures are restored.

Why have they moved westward, from the grassy fringes of the desert, near wetlands, to these rocky hills? Rendille camelherders – neighbours, friends and partners of Lugh's Ariaal community – have been pushed southward due to pressure from their traditional enemies, the camel-herding Gabra. The Gabra occupy the Chabli desert in Kenya and seasonally migrate back and forth from southern Ethiopia. Recently they exchanged animals for guns from refugees fleeing the collapse of the Ethiopian Government. The Rendille have only traditional spears to counter the Gabra's new AK-47s. What used to be low-level skirmishes are now potential massacres.

Civil disorder and insecurity spread across the Horn impacting heavily on pastoral areas and nomadic peoples. With less than 250 millimetres of annual rainfall, the



Horn of Africa is in fact an inter-connected extension of the Sahara. This curved belt of low, arid land is inhabited by Cushitic-speaking camel herders; the Beja and the Afar, by Somali-speakers such as the Issa and the Rendille, and by the Oromo-speaking Sakuye and Gabra. They are fiercely independent and owe stronger allegiance to clan and community than to any wider ethnic entity or government. The camel pastoralists have suffered even more from the depredations of drought and the meddling of the state than their cattle-keeping cousins of the Ethiopian and Kenyan highlands.

As early as the fourteenth century the Arabic historian, Ibn Khaldun, described the mutual antagonism between the nomadic and sedentary life. Today the arid-land policy of virtually every Horn government is to encourage nomads to settle. Artificial frontiers have left pastoral communities politically fragmented and vulnerable. Somali-speakers live in four neighbouring states, the Massai in two, and the Borana cattle herders are divided between Ethiopia and Kenya. Fragile drylands are increasingly degraded. Governments, unwittingly or by design, have curtailed the ability of pastoralists to move their herds. The administrators' cure for two problems – land degradation and political control – is proving worse than the disease.

Famine relief-camps are being used as a lure to create permanent villages for pastoralists. In the 1970s this happened to Somali nomads. But concentrating them in

arid localities only resulted in serious overgrazing by the remaining animals. Nomads were pressed into fishing co-operatives, despite the fact that Somalis – like most Cushites – traditionally do not eat fish. Arabs and expatriates provided a small, reliable market for fish, but the Somalis fled as soon as their herds had recovered.

In the 1980s impoverished Turkana herders were enticed by the World Food Programme into digging irrigation works in exchange for food. But sites were often inappropriate for local dryland conditions. The Turkana, who were able to rebuild their herds behind the backs of officials, escaped to pastoral camps as soon as they could.

These 'settling' policies stem in part from the view that herding is archaic, even destructive. But in the semi-arid lands of the Horn, pastoralism is the only appropriate way of life. Why then are nomads encouraged, or forced, to settle?

Those with a free-market point of view maintain that settling down provides an incentive for herders to improve their particular parcel of rangeland. Yet ranches given to the Maasai and Samburu proved too small and suffered ecological damage as a result. The quality of their livestock declined when they were prevented from ranging freely. So did the quality of the land they were restricted to. When rangeland is subdivided and privatized some of it is inevitably lost to herders. But disillusionment quickly sets in when land-hungry peasants find the land they have gained does not support crops.

Socialists, on the other hand, claim that pastoralists can be better served by social and educational services if they are moved into villages. The hidden agenda here is often one of political control. After the 1974 revolution, land in Ethiopia was nationalized and peasants forcibly uprooted into centralized villages. Some of the most fertile land went to state-owned farms and ranches – where enormous subsidies produced only a small proportion of national output. If villagization failed for the farmers, whose yields quickly fell, it was catastrophic for herders. The quality of the animals crowded around their new villages quickly declined and the surrounding pastureland deteriorated into dustbowls or mudpools.

In September 1990 I travelled through Shoa Province in Ethiopia to see for myself the effects of villagization. The peasants in an association near the town of Ficté were gratified that economic restrictions on marketing and land rental had been lifted but were still bitter about being forced into villages. Previous family residences had had springs nearby, lots of pasture and were close to cultivated fields. Their new situation was much worse. Everyone received less land than before and had to walk much further to get to their fields: travel time of

two hours meant arriving as late as mid-day and leaving by late afternoon. Animals were left with little time to work or graze and their yields plummeted. Weren't there any advantages in moving together into one village? They could see few. They were promised good water, a clinic and a school. But they had better water at home and people had no time for literacy classes after their long walks to their fields.

Much of the suffering endured by the pastoralists of the Horn over the last few decades can be laid at the door of government: too much force used to implement bad policies, too little security offered for their sparsely populated rangelands. The state is the greatest threat to pastoralists today. Aerial bombing of agro-pastoral Dinka people in southern Sudan, forced resettlement of Tigrayan, Afar and Oromo pastoralists in Ethiopia, faction-inspired violence by the Somali dictatorship and atrocities against Somali settlements by Kenya's security forces – all have taken their toll. The history of relations between nomads and the state is a dismal and destructive one.

Governments seem determined to restrict nomadic life within the narrow confines of national borders. Policy-makers still see pastoralists as primitive interlopers rather than citizens who can make the most harsh environments productive. In fact they are reliable suppliers of livestock to both internal and international markets. Short-sighted governments are more interested in their own problems than those of the nomad. If the state can do so much harm to nomads, perhaps it could also do some good. It could guarantee access to water and pasture and realistic prices for livestock. It could secure the peace and protect against banditry.

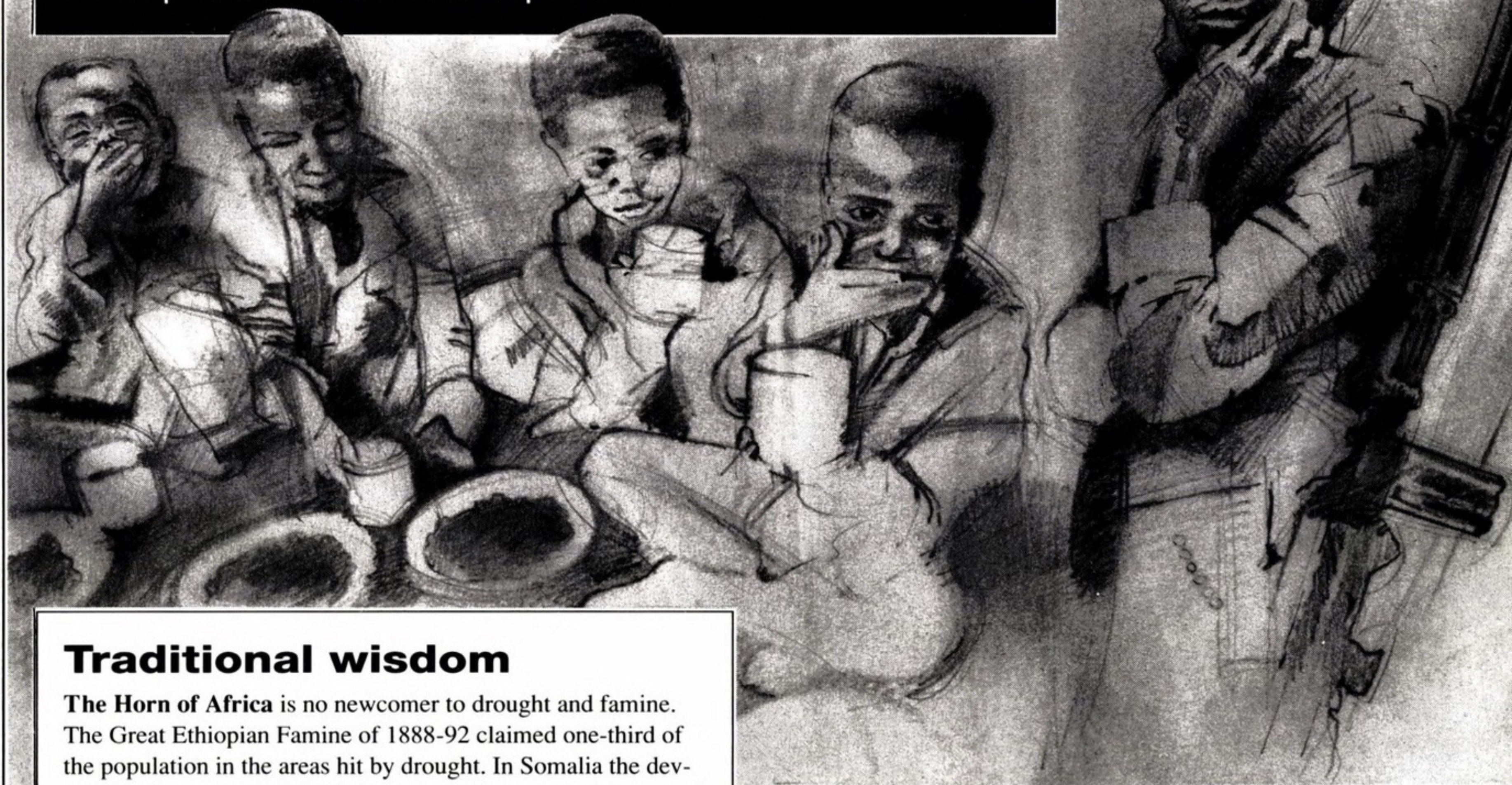
Since the state offers little to herders like Lughî, they ask very little of it. Mostly they want to be left alone. Lughî's contribution to the economy comes when he sells a ram or a goat; to politics when he offers advice in solving local conflicts. He has already sent one son, now in the Kenyan army, to school. A school, a market, a shop, a police post – such institutions could make a difference, but only if he feels they serve him and his community.

At his encampment Lughî and his family hope for rain and peace. His position in the community allowed him to marry a third wife. She has given birth to twins who, though now suckling, will soon depend on the meagre milk his small herd of goats produces. Their future well-being lies not in making them something else, part of a permanently impoverished settled world, but in securing their place among those who make the arid lands productive. ■

John Galaty teaches anthropology at McGill University, Montreal.

Simply...food and famine

The gaunt face on the TV screen is enough to open wallets. But the crisis in the Horn is due to more than just a shortage of food. The NI traces a history of skewed priorities and distorted development.



Traditional wisdom

The Horn of Africa is no newcomer to drought and famine. The Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888-92 claimed one-third of the population in the areas hit by drought. In Somalia the devastating drought of 1926-29 destroyed 80 per cent of sheep and goats. But 'calamities are adaptable' as an old Somali saying goes. Traditional methods of coping minimized risks rather than maximizing returns – they aimed to mitigate disasters or enable a quick recovery. People would grow drought-resistant plants, sell livestock or migrate for short periods. They would store grain surpluses communally to guard against lean years. They would barter goods to avoid price fluctuation and merchant speculation. And co-operation between nomads and farmers – nomads' animals grazed on harvested stubble, leaving fertilizer for the next crop – helped provide a varied diet and sustain the fragile eco-system.

Food last

The gradual integration of the Horn economy into the world market brought poverty as well as wealth to the region. Colonialism in Somalia meant the best land went to Italian farmers who grew export crops such as cotton, sugar cane and castor beans. In Sudan cotton became king when the UK introduced large-scale cultivation and pump irrigation in the 1920s. Wealthy farmers in the fertile plain between the Blue and White Niles grabbed the best agricultural land for cotton and other exports. In Ethiopia food cultivation gave way to coffee and other cash crops for Northern consumers. The Awash River Valley scheme in central Ethiopia was a typical development. In the early 1970s the World Bank financed a series of dams to promote large-scale cotton and sugar-cane cultivation: this displaced local farmers and pastoralists onto marginal or overgrazed land. These vulnerable peasants become hunger's first victims in times of drought.

Guns first

The cost of buying lethal modern weapons and maintaining centralized military states has significantly disrupted food production. Dictatorships depend on export agriculture to earn the foreign exchange they need to buy arms for their troops. In the last two decades military expenditure has accounted for more than half government spending in all the Horn states. Civil war has destroyed crops, killed farmers, driven them from their land or turned them into soldiers. In Sudan, where conquering the fertile south has been a goal for northern-dominated governments in Khartoum, the controversial Jonglei Canal project was devised to channel the vast Sudd swamp (vital for local livestock) to irrigate the dry cotton fields further north.

Bad medicine

The World Bank and the IMF have pressured Horn governments to adopt market-oriented strategies based on agricultural exports. Their main priority is to get the regional economy in good enough shape to meet its debt obligations and compete on the international market. Some of their suggestions are useful: paying farmers decent prices and cutting expensive bureaucracies, for example. But without support for small farmers – credit, inputs and extension services – the price increases will mainly benefit wealthy commercial farms. The whole package of reforms from social-spending cuts through wage freezes to trade liberalization has meant increased misery for the poor majority. In the Sudan, where the IMF has had a lot of influence, the disposable income of the average peasant is about 30 per cent of what it was in 1970.



Food as a weapon

By the mid-1980s recurrent droughts and famines had placed millions of people in north-east Africa at risk of starvation. And the giving and withholding of food had become a political weapon. Some of the food aid that poured into the Horn came from well-meaning donors but much came from governments wanting to dump agricultural surpluses and extend their influence. In Ethiopia many donors refused to give food aid through rebel relief agencies for fear of offending the military government in Addis; this cost thousands of lives. Meanwhile food aid was withheld from troublesome groups like the Dinka in south Sudan and the Tigrayans in northern Ethiopia. The looting of food-aid shipments and their use to feed troops has been a common feature of all the civil wars that have swept the Horn.

While food aid undoubtedly saves lives it does little to address the underlying causes of the region's agricultural crisis. And one of its side-effects is to shift the tastes of African consumers away from traditional food crops like cassava and millet toward expensive imported foods.

Greenwar

The driving force of agricultural policy has been 'big is best' – whether in the commercial cotton farms of Sudan or the giant state farms of Ethiopia. Expensive farm machinery and chemical inputs quickly eat up precious foreign-exchange earnings. Peasant farmers and pastoralists are crowded onto marginal lands where ecological resources – soil, water, trees – are quickly exhausted from over-use. Conflict between pastoralists and farmers over scarce resources quickly follows. This is one of the causes of the present crisis in Somalia where the six traditional clans share overlapping territories and the decline of resources like water or pastureland leads one clan to intrude on another. In Sudan these conflicts have been exacerbated by a fundamentalist government which has encouraged violence by Muslim pastoralists against non-Muslim farmers.

Signs of hope

If there is hope in the Horn it lies in the many farmers who are opting out of commercial agriculture for export. Sick of unreliable prices and the poor marketing infrastructure, many farmers are abandoning export and market crops entirely and instead growing food for their families. There is hope too in the NGOs and churches who are assisting local efforts in agricultural development, ecological restoration and health and education programs. But only in Eritrea and northern Ethiopia are village and regional assemblies emerging where farmers have a real say in the shape of agriculture. Here local farmers' knowledge of ecology and crop choice is respected. And here extensive reforestation, terracing and water harvesting are being undertaken to rehabilitate a badly degraded environment. This kind of initiative must be sustained and must spread to other parts of the Horn if the future is to be free of famine.

Howitzer culture



NEIL COOPER / PANOS

Cucumbers or mortar shells; at the market in Makele you can buy both. This cultural violence will be hard to shake off.

In a village near the Somali town of Hargeisa, a two-year-old boy plays outside his parents' house. He is tied to a tree with a length of string which prevents him from wandering outside a ten-metre radius of the tree. The surrounding area has not been cleared of landmines. Born into the 'new world order', the boy is still confined by the Cold War.

The 21-year rule of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre left a huge accumulation of grievances to be settled in Somalia. The currency used is Barre's arsenal, provided by both the USSR and the US over almost

three decades.

In Mogadishu today, the contending forces of self-proclaimed Interim President Ali Mahdi and his adversary General Mohamed Farah Aidid have armed themselves from the huge stockpile of weaponry in the city. Second World War-vintage field-artillery pieces fire off rounds into residential suburbs; anti-aircraft guns are pointed level and used to demolish buildings.

A list of the armaments available in Somalia reads like an inventory of an arms dealer's warehouse. Nine types of artillery piece are in common use on the streets of

The people of the Horn have been drowned in a flood of arms from both sides of the Cold War. Alex de Waal reveals the frightening extent to which war and famine are feeding off each other.

Mogadishu – five Soviet-made, three US-made and one French model. The residents of the city refer to the shells they fire as 'to whom it may concern' because they are so inaccurate. In addition, two of the heaviest howitzers (one Soviet model and one US) are not currently in use due to lack of trained personnel. Perhaps the most unusual weapon seen on the street is an air-to-air rocket launcher taken from a MIG-21 fighter-bomber and mounted on a Toyota pickup.

Perhaps more significant than the heavy weaponry is the ubiquitous AK-47. You can see this hardy and efficient killing machine in the hands of children as young as seven or eight years old, yet its recoil is so fierce that unless you have both strength and training it will throw you off balance and spray bullets wildly.

The sheer quantity of arms available to the contending factions ensures years of conflict. This makes the UN-decreed (but unenforced) arms embargo a largely symbolic gesture. Every market has stalls selling small arms and ammunition. A T-55 tank, including spares and ammunition, retails at \$4,000. A child in hospital who had been given food by a visiting reporter showed her thanks by offering a present of three AK-47 cartridges.

For 30 years the superpowers poured weaponry into the Horn. In the 1960s and early 1970s the US provided their ally Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia with more US military aid than the rest of the Africa combined. Meanwhile, successive Somali governments received military assistance from the Soviet Union, in return for allowing use of the strategically placed naval base at Berbera, close to the Red Sea choke point. General Aidid learned his artillery doctrine in Moscow – obliterate whole squares on the map rather than aim at specific targets.

In late 1977, after the Ethiopian Revolution, this situation reversed in one

of the most dramatic volte-faces of the Cold War – an episode that revealed the ideological shallowness of both superpowers. In June of that year, seeing the Ethiopian Government weakened by internal dissension, the Somali army invaded Ogaden. In the dying days of 1977 Moscow began an airlift of two billion dollars' worth of military equipment to Ethiopia. Russian advisors who had planned the Somali advance were transferred from Mogadishu to Addis Ababa. Somalia was unceremoniously ditched by its former patron. By March 1978 the Somali army was in full retreat. The Somali Government, enraged at the Soviets' perfidy, invited the US in.

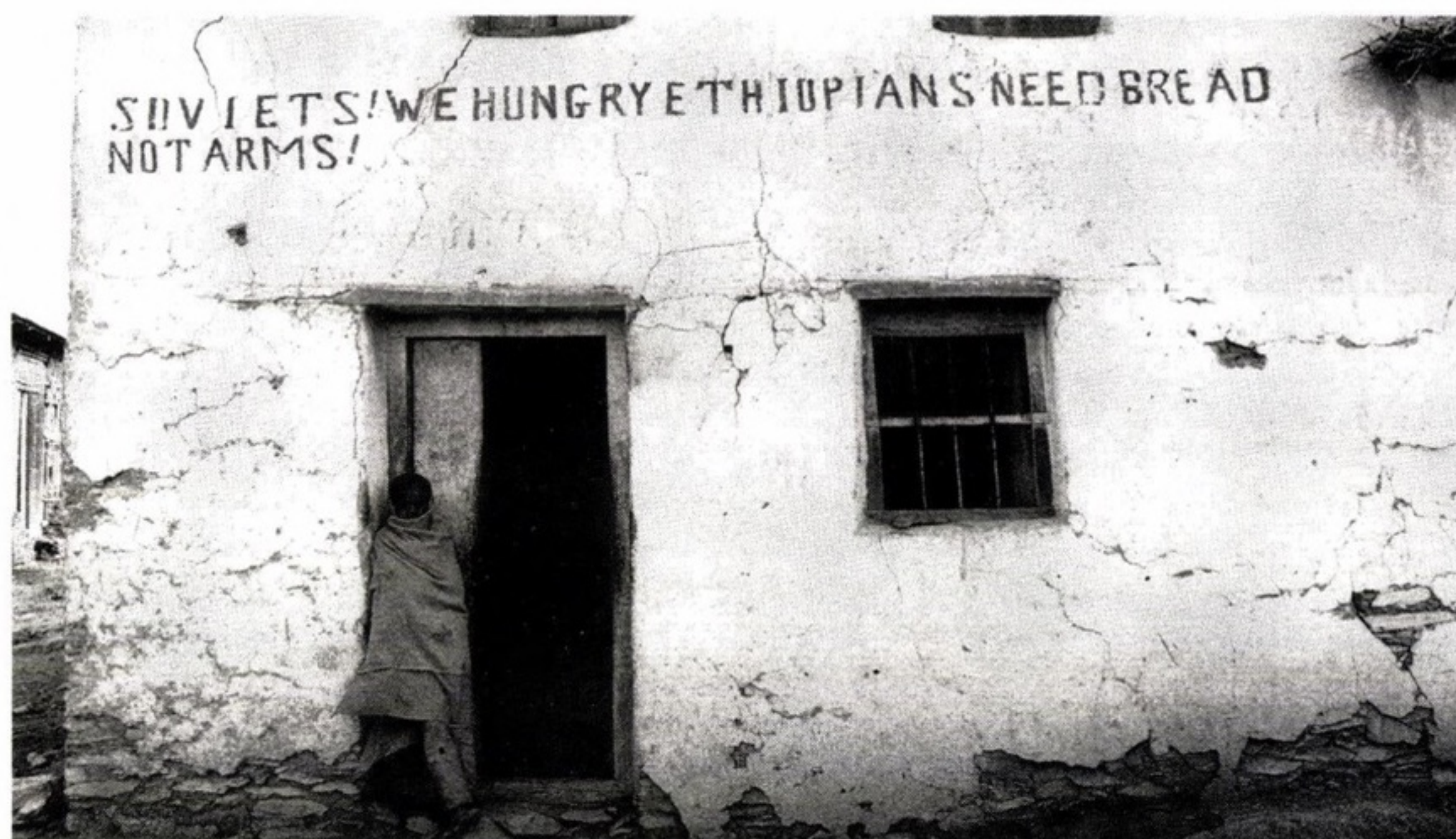
The quantities of arms sent to these two eager clients was staggering. Ethiopia was equipped with 1,400 tanks, over 1,000 artillery pieces, 140 fighter-bombers and 35 helicopter gunships. The cost was over eight billion dollars, bought on credit at low interest rates. The last shipment arrived in March 1991. (Recently Russia asked for continued repayments, and was rebuffed by the Transitional Government – the arms had been bought with the intention of killing precisely those people who now sit in the ministries in Addis Ababa.) About one-quarter of Ethiopia's entire gross national product between 1974 and 1991 was spent on the war effort.

In Somalia, arms expenditure amounted to about ten per cent of gross national product; by the end of the decade its army possessed nearly 300 tanks and about 700 artillery pieces and mortars.

Over one million men and boys passed through military service in the Ethiopian Army, while perhaps one-third of that number fought at one time or another in the rebel movements. The Government forcibly conscripted its soldiers in 'sweeping up' operations, surrounding schools, market places or villages and taking away all eligible men and boys at gunpoint. The Somali Army was much smaller than the Ethiopian, at about 60,000, but a similar number of people were trained in militias and many refugees were conscripted to fight for the Government.

A generation of Ethiopians were trained in the techniques of modern warfare. These included counter-insurgency strategies developed from, amongst others, the Soviet experience in Afghanistan – forcible relocation of people, for example, so as to ensure strict surveillance and cut off civilian support for guerrillas. These strategies were instrumental in halting the internal grain trade and labour migration in northern Ethiopia, a major factor in the famine of 1983-85.

At the other end of the scale, well over one million men and boys have been trained in the use of modern weapons, such



NEIL COOPER / PANOS

It was true during the Cold War. It is still true today.
But will those who are coming to power listen?

as the AK-47 and small anti-personnel landmines. Even those who were not soldiers have come to know military technology with great intimacy; war has become almost a way of life. After the victorious Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front demobilized Mengistu's 500,000-strong army in 1991, many of the former conscripts turned to banditry as a means of earning a livelihood.

After defeat in the Ogaden, the Siad Barre regime was faced with mounting unrest and a series of coup attempts and regional insurrections. These culminated in 1988, when rebels launched all-out attacks on the towns of northern Somalia and the Government responded with one of the most vicious scorched-earth policies witnessed in Africa. Fighter-bombers took off from Hargeisa airport, circled round, and bombed and strafed the town itself. Field artillery was used to flatten whole blocks.

Perhaps most deadly of all, anti-personnel landmines were planted throughout the area. They were not laid in regular formations for military purposes, but were used to encircle waterpoints and villages, were scattered randomly on roads and pastures, and were carefully wired up to booby-trap houses so as to kill the residents should they try to return. Five types of anti-tank mine, one type of anti-vehicle mine, and eight makes of anti-personnel mine were provided by almost every major manufacturer in the world. The Pakistani-manufactured P4 Mk2 boasts in its sales literature that 'the quantity of explosive has been calculated to have a blast effect... to make the man disabled and incapacitate him permanently'. Retailing at \$6.75 each, these and other pocket-size mines are deliberately manufactured to be undetectable and to maim rather than kill – because a wounded

soldier needs assistance from colleagues who are then also taken out of combat.

Now, four years later, the landmines are still killing and maiming civilians and rendering whole areas of northern Somalia uninhabitable. The local people are faced with the choice of avoiding their homes and fields, and having no way to make a living, or risking death or disablement in pursuit of the necessities of life. The Cold War will still be killing Somalis well into the next century.

The Horn of Africa is now locked into a cycle of war and famine. The means whereby war creates famines are now well known – destruction, restriction of population, diversion of resources. Less well understood are the means whereby famine creates war.

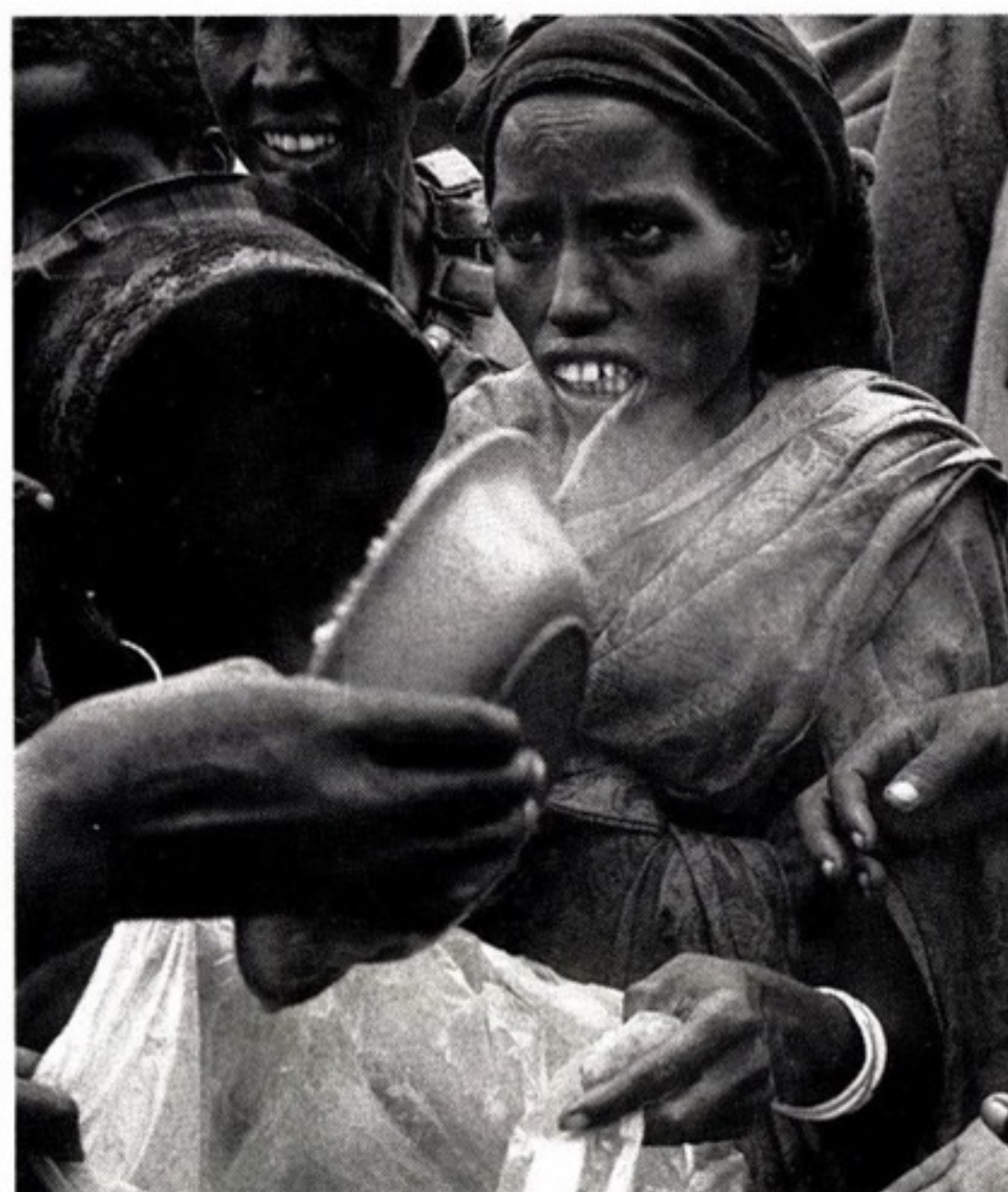
Where resources are scarce and becoming scarcer, access to weaponry is the easiest way to earn a living. This might be through small-scale plunder and asset-stripping – looting electrical goods or factory machinery and selling it abroad, for instance. Or it might be via clan warfare over pasture and wells, which are the very fundamentals of rural subsistence. If a community loses its well, famine is almost inevitable and this makes the fighting even fiercer – it is a fight for survival. So no group can afford to relinquish its arms for fear of facing starvation. But unless the chronic conflict can be stopped, starvation for all is the inevitable outcome.

Somalia represents the current extreme of a famine war, but there are ominous signs of similar developments in parts of Ethiopia. The legacy of the Cold War for the Horn could be a constant state of predatory chaos. ■

Alex de Waal works for in London for the human-rights group Africa Watch.

Democratic elbow room

Paulos Tesfagiorgis argues that no development strategy in the Horn can work unless it expands people's basic rights.



NANA RIEMERS / STILL PICTURES

WHILE war and famine capture the headlines, one major cause of the suffering afflicting the Horn of Africa is much less visible. This is a fundamental lack of respect by our political leaders for their own people. The flagrant abuse of basic rights has left our citizenry so paralysed by hopelessness that many are unable to take care of themselves. People are insecure – fearful that the authorities will arrest them, seize their land, resettle them against their will, increase their taxes or lower their crop prices. The result is a creeping apathy – why bother planting or taking proper care of land and animals? The violation of human rights is central to the failure of development in our part of Africa.

The people of the Horn have much in common. Across every border live people who are kith and kin; people with similar cultural roots who have been trading partners for centuries. They have all (save for the people of Djibouti) suffered recent misfortunes at the hands of authoritarian military rulers. These dictators made a mockery of freedom of expression – muzzling the press and creating obedient one-party states. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations were government-owned and run by the ministries of 'National Guidance'. No opposition was tolerated – political imprisonment, forced confession and disappearances were commonplace. Independent organizations – from universities to peasant associations – could have served as the embryo of a civil society. Instead they were put under strict government control or just eliminated.

The Horn countries all recognize people's rights on paper but in practice constitutional guarantees have been routinely violated. Guarantees of secret ballots and

freedom to run for office are a sick joke when people in the polling booths face a single list of officially approved candidates. The only choice for voters is to endorse the official slate. A negative vote and you could face unpleasant consequences for 'endangering the revolution'. The right to peaceful assembly has been in practice restricted to officially sanctioned rallies showing undying loyalty to the leadership.

At any one time governments like those of Mengistu in Ethiopia or Siad Barre in Somalia (and still that of Bashir in Sudan) held several thousand prisoners entirely outside the framework of the law. Long prison sentences awaited individuals who stepped out of line; any hint of independence was proof of links to sinister 'dissident movements'. Women activists were especially cruelly treated – held in prison and subjected to sexual abuse and rape as forms of torture. A climate of fear made the exchange of free opinion virtually impossible.

Economic and social progress is impossible without personal security. Many of the Horn's most talented people were forced to flee. Arbitrary actions by the state – pushing people off their land, drafting them into the military, reorganizing their villages, 'resettling' them thousands of

miles from their homes – have endangered a sustainable way of life. At risk now is the delicate set of communal values and structures which allowed survival for generations in ecologically difficult conditions.

The picture painted here is one filled with the suffering that follows rights denied. But there are signs of hope. The recent changes in Ethiopia and Eritrea – the cessation of hostilities and recognition of the right to self-determination – hold out some hope of development with dignity. Perhaps the peace and social change that is sweeping Eritrea and Ethiopia will stimulate similar trends in Somalia and Sudan and end their agony of self-destruction. But political vision at the top must be accompanied by energy from below.

Overthrowing an 'ancien regime' is not enough to ensure a democratic future. The unequal distribution of power often survives the removal of old despots. This can delay or even prevent a smooth transition to people-directed development. The people of Eritrea and Ethiopia expect that independence and democracy will bring creative solutions to the problems of rural hunger and poverty as well as urban unemployment. If this does not happen popular dissatisfaction will grow. Governments, unable to implement their programs, become frustrated and defensive. Will they fall back on the old police methods to impose their will? Or rely on legal means and democratic procedures?

It will take the combined weight of the international community to ensure respect for democratic rights and the development of a healthy civil society. But in countries as poor as those of the Horn this must also mean strong economic support to end hunger and give people hope in the future. For even governments with the best of intentions, like those of Ethiopia and Eritrea, could deny people's rights when faced with opposition.

This would be a tragedy – the cycle of economic mismanagement and non-achievement would set in; too much centralism in administration would become the rule; and dictatorship would re-emerge. The results: no development and no human rights. ■

Paulos Tesfagiorgis was director of the Eritrean Relief Association and now heads the Centre for Human Rights and Development in Asmara.

ACTION DIRECTORY

THE CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT, PO Box 600, Asmara, Eritrea (Tel: 111761). This Centre is just getting going and promises to play an important role in promoting notions of civil society and democratic development throughout the Horn of Africa. Its ambitious program includes a regular newsletter and work to empower independent organizations as vital links for grassroots democracy.

BREAD FOR THE WORLD / INSTITUTE ON HUNGER AND DEVELOPMENT, 802 Rhode Island Ave, Washington DC 20018 US (Tel: 202-269-0200) has teamed up with the CENTER FOR CONCERN, also in Washington, to produce an occasional paper entitled PEACE, DEVELOPMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE HORN OF AFRICA by John Prendergast. An excellent and lucid campaigning pamphlet

RED SEA PRESS, 15 Industry Court, Trenton, NJ 08638.US. A good source of books by activists and scholars on the history, politics and sociology of the Horn. Write for a catalogue.

SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL, 310 Edgware Rd, London W2, UK (Tel: 071 723-5535) campaigns for indigenous peoples in the Horn such as the Nuba of Sudan and others. Has offices in other English-speaking countries.

ANIMALS



CHRISTINE PFUND / CAMERA PRESS

Tiger! Tiger!

Big cat bites back.

SINCE Project Tiger was launched in 1973 to save India's tigers, thousands of people have died – killed by the flourishing tiger population. In the Sundarbans tiger sanctuary, covering the mangrove swamps on the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra Rivers between India and Bangladesh, some 600 people have been mauled to death. Understandably local opposition to Project Tiger is mounting.

A strange order of priorities is shown in the fine for killing a tiger being three times higher than the compensation paid to the dependents of a tiger's victim. 'The law says a tiger is worth more than a person. But tigers are a menace,' says a local inhabitant.

In the mid-1980s the village of Arampur, where more than 150 women had lost their husbands, became known as 'the village of widows'. In 1981 the Reserve authorities deployed clay dummies of fishermen wired to give a 300-volt shock to a tiger pouncing on them. But these deterrents have proved ineffective.

The Sundarbans sanctuary is the habitat of the Royal Bengal tiger, India's prize ani-

mal. Once there were only 120 tigers in the sanctuary. Today there are 300 adults and 50 cubs, the highest concentration anywhere in the world.

Prithiviraj Sengupta, field director of Project Tiger, claims that tigers only rarely stray into human settlements and kill people. The danger lies in the sanctuary 'buffer zone' which should be abolished. People are officially allowed into this area twice a year to collect honey and wood. Fishing is allowed all the year. 'Why should we go on stealing honey and fish, both of which the tiger relishes, from its own home, right under its nose?' asks Sengupta.

He believes people who go into the sanctuary should be taught alternative skills. Dangerous individual animals could be culled, thereby reducing the numbers of tigers and allowing people to get on with their lives.

But if tigers were eliminated altogether from Sundarbans the forests and mangrove swamps would almost certainly be cleared – and a denuded Sundarbans, no longer shielded from cyclones, would pose a climatic hazard to the entire coast of West Bengal. And the world would lose a magnificent animal. ■

Atiya Singh/Gemini

Cambodia's 100,000th returnee

The 100,000th Cambodian refugee was repatriated and arrived back in Phnom Penh on 28 August. Most of those repatriated so far have come from Thai border camps, where 93,600 refugees from a total of 370,000 had returned home. Other returnees have come from Malaysia and Indonesia.

From Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol 155, No 35, 1992

Lake Victoria needs air

Pollution, overfishing and the introduction of foreign species of fish are seriously endangering Lake Victoria, the world's second largest freshwater lake and source of food and livelihood to a million people in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

In the late 1980s massive schools of dead fish were found floating on the surface. The deaths occurred when strong winds pushed deeper waters to the surface. Studies found the bottom half of the lake to be a vast dead zone bereft of dissolved oxygen. So fish died from lack of oxygen.

On the lake surface algae thrive on nutrients from sewage, farm pesticide runoff and factory wastes. The dead algae drift to the bottom and, as they decompose, consume the available oxygen. Water hyacinths clog the shallows, reducing the light and oxygen reaching an area where many of the small native fish live. In the past, more than 400 of these fish species kept the algae in check but now half the species have disappeared.

'This is the first time we've seen an ecological collapse of this magnitude in so short a period,' says Les Kaufman, chief scientist at the New England Aquarium and head of an international research team, funded by the US Government, which is trying to save the lake. One culprit, in Kaufman's view, is the Nile Perch,



ILLUSTRATION: RICHARD WILLSON

a predator that grows to 200 kilograms. It was introduced to the lake in the 1960s and has since taken over the lake, eating lots of the smaller species.

Yet not all agree on the role of the Nile Perch in the lake's decline. It lives in other African lakes such as the Turkana and Tanganyika without destroying the food chain. One thing all agree, however, is that the effluents that are feeding the algae and sapping the lake of its life must be curbed.

From New Scientist, Vol 135, No 1840, 1992

PERU

End of the Path?

Euphoria greets capture of legendary guerilla leader

THE capture of Abimael Guzman, founder and ideologue of Sendero Luminoso – the Shining Path – has been greeted ecstatically by many Peruvians sickened by 12 years of a civil war that has killed 25,000 people and cost \$22 billion. But the unanswered question on everyone's mind is what difference Guzman's capture will really make.

In a bid to destroy 'Comandante Gonzalo's' image and myth of invincibility Peruvian Government television has repeatedly shown the former Professor of Philosophy in his police cell. He cuts a sorry figure: flabby, shambling, with a wispy grey beard.

But there are fears that President Fujimori's euphoria at the capture of his arch-enemy may prove premature. The violence of poverty – and the culture of violence produced by more than a decade of civil war between the insurgents and Government forces – remains.

Lima now lives as Beirut once did, each day bringing more car bombs and shootings. Outside the capital the situation is worse. Cocaine fiefdoms proliferate across the slopes of the Andes and more than half the country is under emergency rule. Sendero guerillas control about one-third of the country. They rule with brutality, crushing all opposition. The human rights record of the Government forces is little better.

Clearly Guzman's arrest has dealt the guerillas a severe blow. He never designated a successor – rivals were betrayed to the



As much as half the country (shaded areas) is controlled by guerillas.

authorities or killed – and apparently he alone controlled an estimated \$30-million-a-year cash flow derived from the cocaine trade. Observers predict there will now be a period of damaging infighting between the political and military wings of the movement.

But given the polarization of Peruvian society and the disintegration caused by the war, it seems unlikely that the capture of Sendero's ideologue will bring peace. ■

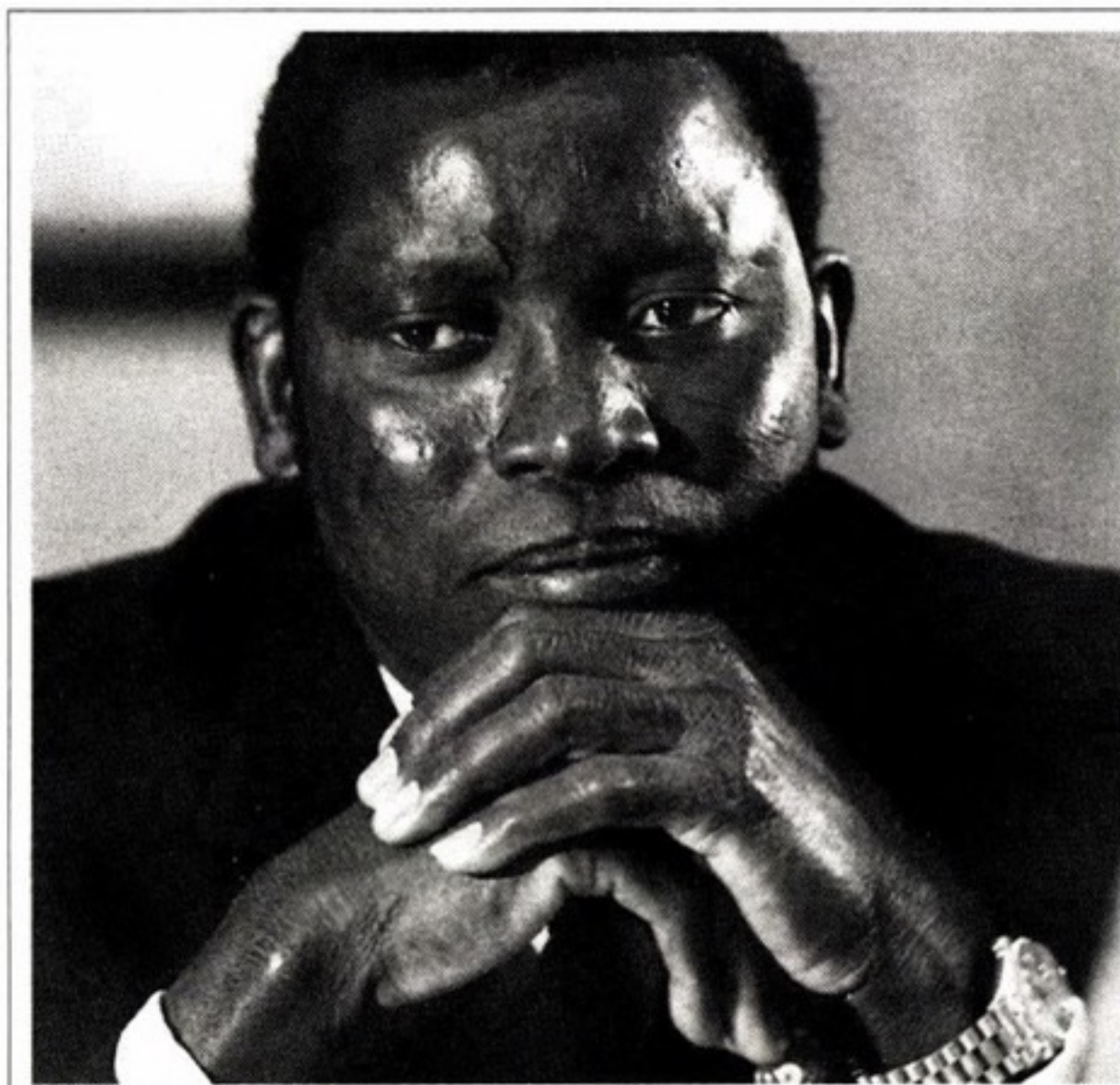
Susie Morgan / Gemini

The loneliness of the long-living Japanese

The lonely, the insecure and those frustrated by the frantic pace of modern life are a newly discovered market in Japan. Elderly Japanese isolated from their children can now rent a 'family' for lunch and a few hours' conversation. They just dial a Tokyo number and ask for, say, a daughter, a son-in-law and a couple of grandchildren. The family then shows up at your door and greets you emotionally, as if they haven't seen you for years. Three hours with them would cost \$1,130 plus transport. The phone number belongs to Nippon Kokasei Honbu (Japan Effectiveness Headquarters) which also provides 'staff' for timid business executives to bawl out, 'sweethearts' for those unlucky in love and 'maids' to make people feel rich.

From Xinhua News Agency, reported in World Press Review, Vol 39, No 8, 1992

Togo terror



A man of dubious distinction: President Eyadéma.

President Gnassingbé Eyadéma of Togo has won a dubious distinction: he is the first old-style African leader to survive a democratic knockout and stage a comeback. Eight opposition parties together with Togo's exhausted Prime Minister, Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, have signed a deal with Togo's army returning to Mr Eyadéma most of the power they had taken from him at the country's national conference last year. The democratic leaders changed their minds after a year-long terror campaign, conducted by the Army on behalf of the President who is, of course, commander-in-chief. For the past year soldiers have shelled Mr Koffigoh's beachfront home, nearly assassinated one opposition leader, successfully murdered another and destroyed computerized electoral lists. Hundreds of people have died in political violence, a heavy toll in a population of barely four million. Fears are growing that an army coup might precipitate a disastrous civil war: West Africa can do without a second Liberia.

From The Economist, Vol 324, No 7775, 1992.

Where there is no condom

Russia is running out of condoms. No contraceptives have been imported from the West for two years because of the shortage of hard currency. The two domestic condom factories, operating until recently under an Italian licence, have stopped production because they cannot afford to import latex. The country's only IUD factory, at Kazan, was closed down after the Health Ministry complained about the poor quality of its products.

This leaves abortion as the major form of contraception. Every year some four million abortions are registered in the country, twice the number of live births. Many more women have illegal abortions, often in unhygienic conditions. In the current economic crisis, family planning is low on the Government's list of priorities.

From New Scientist, No 1832, 1992

ENVIRONMENT

Fog water

Desert thirst quenched

THE 400 inhabitants of Chungungo, 500 kilometres north of Santiago, Chile, are the only people on earth drinking fog. Despite a 20-year drought the tiny desert town has a constant supply of fresh water for the first time in its history.

For a brief period after 1914 Chungungo was supplied with water and electricity by the US Bethlehem Steel Company, operating what was then the largest iron-ore mine in the world. When the company pulled out Chungungo had to rely on twice-weekly water deliveries by truck.

The new system is in fact an ancient one used by the Incas. The thick fog that forms along the coast changes into a fine mist of raindrops when it rises over inland hills and comes into contact with trees, forming 'interior rain' within forests.

A few kilometres east of the town is a eucalyptus forest on El Tofo hill. Some 50 huge nets, or 'fog catchers', supported by eucalyptus pillars with water containers at their base, have been installed on the top of the hill. About 7,200 litres of water are collected daily and brought into the town along a pipe seven kilometres long. The total cost of the project was just \$140,000.

Last May the inhabitants of Chungungo opened their water taps and watched in astonishment as clear, crystalline liquid flowed out.



'We were quite sceptical at first,' says an elderly, radiant woman. 'Once we used to joke... only fog or smoke will come out of the taps, we said.'

Now the people of the town are more optimistic about their future. They know that the fog, unlike Bethlehem Steel, will never leave them. They know too that an ancient legend – that the original inhabitants of the region worshipped trees because a perpetual flow of water sprang from their leaves – is based on fact.

Luis Tricot/Gemini

A quick buck

More than 10,000 Indian men recently besieged Iraq's embassy in New Delhi with testimonials to their character and virility. They were responding to a newspaper advert offering them \$1,000 to marry Iraqi women whose husbands had been killed in the Gulf War. But the advert was phoney, placed by crooks who charged about \$4 per 'application'. The Iraqi ambassador expressed sympathy for the applicants but said: 'How can they think we have nothing better to do in Iraq than give away money and our women?'

From The Independent, London, August 1992

Craven apology

Malaysia has apologized to Indonesia over the public airing of a foreign news report showing film footage of Indonesian soldiers firing on mourners in East Timor in November 1991. The report was shown in a news programme by Radio Television Malaysia (RTM), a Government channel widely received by satellite dish users in Indonesia. An Indonesian youth group claimed the report was an insult to the country. The Malaysian Information Minister apologized saying that RTM had made an editorial mistake, and went to Jakarta for urgent talks on the matter. Establishing the truth of the report, and why troops should be massacring East Timorese mourners, seems not to have been on his agenda.

From Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol 155, No 40, 1992



Smart drugs: users turn out to earn more and work better.

Drug users defy stereotypes

The presumption is this: drugs lead to addiction. Addiction leads to desperation. Desperation leads to crime. People who use drugs are doomed to failure. These are the messages behind the official anti-drugs campaigns. Yet there is growing evidence that such campaigns don't work because they are not true.

Most startling is the relationship between drugs and wages. Young cocaine and marijuana users actually earn higher salaries than non-users, according to a

long-term study conducted by the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York. The drug-use habits of 5,000 young adults were compared across the US. The survey was first done in 1984 and repeated in 1989 to the same group of people, with an average age of 23 and then 27. It shows drug users do not drop out of the workforce quicker than drug-free employees. In fact they are often the most inquisitive and talented people at the workplace.

From Pacific News Service, August 1992

END

Quote

The British popular press has never been famous for feelings of friendship and solidarity to other nations, even European Community partners. Here are two quotes from a daily, *The Star* (circulation 800,000):

28 September: "The Jerries are getting too big for their jackboots. They torpedoed the pound, launched Lord Haw-Haw attacks on Britain's competence, and now they plan a sick knees-up to celebrate the V2 rocket which killed thousands here. They need to be reminded of the debt they owe the British for rebuilding their shattered nation after conflicts THEY started."

29 September: The V2 celebrations were cancelled. The *Star* takes the credit. "No sooner had we raised a rifle at the Germans than they scuttled back into their trenches."



The 500 years of resistance start NOW! Gérard Depardieu's Columbus hits the American beach.



1492 Conquest of Paradise

directed by Ridley Scott

Ridley Scott's Columbus epic has an interesting advertising tag-line: 'Centuries before the exploration of space, there was another voyage into the unknown'. This piece of ad copy – inadvertently perhaps – raises interesting questions about the myth of 'discovering the Other'. What, for example, does it mean to us to see Columbus set out in quest of an Unknown which today has become a Known complete with 500 years of strife-torn history? Scott fails to make play with this – he clearly aims to get to grips with some of the problems behind the question of Western exploration, but he's only halfway there.

The film's title was changed from the original *Columbus* so as not to clash with the ludicrous *Christopher Columbus: The Discovery*. It is thus perhaps unfair to judge it against the promise of the title but this is still a film about the man rather than the year: 1492 not only included Columbus's voyage, but also the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the fall of Moorish Granada. In other words a New World was being sought just when significant parts of the Old World were mercilessly shut down. The two moments – a purging simultaneous with the creation of a mythical *tabula rasa* – seem inextricably unified, two sides of a moment in the Western (Catholic) imagination. Yet the film skirts the

issue, only acknowledging it in a character's remark – full of anachronistic foresight – that the fall of Granada will be Europe's cultural loss.

Roselyne Bosch's screenplay, to be fair, does attempt to look into the Catholic colonial psyche. Columbus, arriving on the island he christens San Salvador, is convinced he is in Eden, and resolves to convert the natives with peace and honour; a paradoxical notion, this, that the inhabitants of Eden should need to be converted to a 'civilized' faith. He soon learns, amid storms and snakes, that this is no Eden but his faith subsists to the extent of planning a city based on da Vinci's ideas (he succeeds in building a cathedral, which allows Scott to stage an epic bell-raising sequence).

The inevitable hostilities and slaughter ensue although, as in *The Discovery*, this is attributed partly to the intervention of an identifiable villain – the aristocratic emissary Moxica, complete with black leathers and sneer. The film does, however, do what its predecessor signally did not: it gives a sense of a powerful pre-existing culture disrupted by the naïveté (and worse) of its visitors.

Otherwise *1492* is a historical epic of the old school – overlong, turgid and a real disappointment from the director of *Blade Runner* and *Thelma and Louise*. The historical look is persuasive, every artefact aged in the cask. And Scott does have real insights in the staging: for example, almost entirely masking the sea with sails and rigging to suggest the sailors' confinement and to counter the triumphalist flavour that tends to accompany shots of the Wide Blue Yonder.

But Gérard Depardieu is ill cast as Columbus: although he exudes energy, pathos and gravi-

ty in abundance, his French accent is a severe drawback to both credibility and comprehension. The laborious feel of the dialogue that results from this adds to the sense of this film as stodgy fustian, with too much on its production plate to cope with the real complexities of its subject.

Politics ☆☆
Entertainment ☆



Am I Not Your Girl?

by Sinead O'Connor (Ensign)

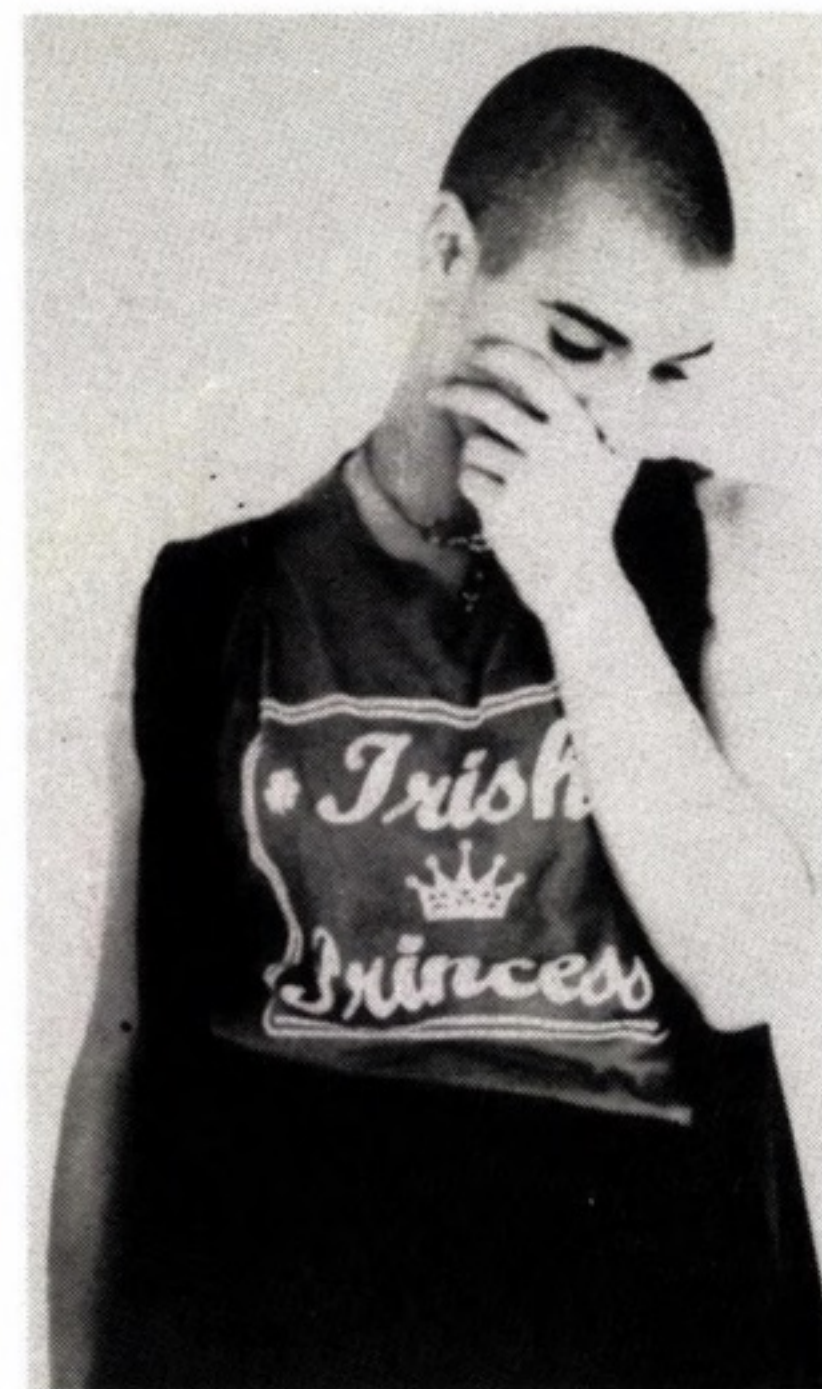
Why should one of the only consistently outspoken firebrands in pop make an album of crooning standards? Simply, says Sinéad O'Connor, because these were the songs she grew up with. Consequently *Am I Not Your Girl?* – with its 47-piece orchestra and covers of Doris Day and Peggy Lee hits – is a rather more personal album than its predecessor *I Do Not Want What I Have Not Got*. There O'Connor strove, with some discomfort, to forge an absolutely personal, from-the-gut identity. Here she successfully does what pop performers once used to: she simply speaks through classic songs with perfect eloquence.

O'Connor performs the songs with feeling and relish. Rather than attempting to subvert the material to either kitsch or critical effect, she plays it straight, much as she did with Cole Porter's *You Do Something To Me* on the AIDS benefit album. It seems an implausible gesture from a singer associated with political rage –

whose diatribes against the US earned her the fury of Frank Sinatra, and who was particularly visible in the recent Irish protest against the Catholic Church's attitude to abortion.

Yet even this LP has a political agenda. It closes with a text, spoken between gritted teeth, about Catholic intolerance; the sleeve notes ask 'what happens to a child that has been invaded mentally physically emotionally spiritually sexually...' and concludes 'I You He She We are that child'. In addition O'Connor's recent single *Success Has Made a Failure of Our Home* caused controversy with its sleeve picture of Carmona Lopez, a street child beaten by Guatemalan police; the song's video also featured Amnesty International images of torture victims. These images could hardly be said to have much bearing on the song, a study of a domestic break-up in the wake of fame, and O'Connor has been attacked – notably in the UK's *Sun* newspaper – for trying to capitalize on them. But rather than questioning the reality of her fury, it seems truer to suggest that she is simply not very good at focussing it: she tends to conflate all the objects of her rage so that her anger, in its expression at least, comes across as personal rather than specifically political.

Still, the record is a bold move by an artist playing against type. It may be comparatively apolitical for O'Connor, but it conveys a far more convincing sense of self than the often overheated



O'Connor, the crooning firebrand.

rhetoric she has recorded before. These artful, finely modulated performances prove that Sinéad O'Connor is better at being herself when she is not striving so hard to Be Herself.

Politics ☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆



books

Beyond the Limits

by Donella M Meadows, Dennis L Meadows, Jorgen Randers (*Earthscan*)

In 1972 a study commissioned by the Club of Rome provoked an outcry when it predicted, based on the growth trends of the time, a limit to worldwide economic expansion within 100 years. Published as *The Limits to Growth*, the report – making use of computer projections showing the long-term consequences of population growth, resource consumption and increasing pollution – called for a comprehensive revision of policies and practices to avert a global collapse. Now, 20 years later the authors have updated their original findings to produce a sequel: **Beyond the Limits**.

The book makes for rather alarming, though not unexpected, reading. In spite of the greater awareness of the environment and new technical advances, many of the world's resource and pollution flows are already beyond their limits. Unless alternative ways of meeting people's resource needs are found, society is heading for the global collapse already forecast – possibly within the lifetime of people still alive today.

But **Beyond the Limits** also offers hope. The chapter on the world's response to ozone, for instance, illustrates humanity's ability to look ahead, sense a limit, and pull back before it is too late. The main challenge facing humanity, the authors argue, is to switch from policies fostering growth in material consumption and population towards more sustainable patterns. Such a post-growth revolution is technically and economically feasible and would, if taken up before it is too late, lead to a condition of environmental equilibrium that is sustainable far into the future. But a profound shift in attitudes has to come first...

This is really a book for policy makers, who will not be able to dismiss the authors' conclusions as easily as they did 20 years ago.

Politics ★★★★★
Entertainment ★

STAR RATING

Excellent ★★★★★
Very good ★★★★★
Good ★★★★★
Fair ★★★★★
Poor ★★★★★

Reviews editor: Chris Brazier

A Burnt-Out Case

... being the novel about death that made its peace with life

A STRANGER journeys through the heat and humidity of tropical Africa on a rickety boat. He stays with the boat until it can go no further upriver, then announces he will stay in its final port of call – a run-down *leproserie* (leprosy hospice) deep in the rainforest. He says he feels nothing, is emotionally dead; even his motto is a parody – 'I feel discomfort, therefore I am alive'.

Bored colonials seek out the stranger, Query, and pester him to entertain them. They discover that he is a famous ecclesiastical architect who has lost his vocation. An obese journalist travels from Europe to write eulogistic prose about him. A woman so young and innocent that he presumes she is harmless claims that Query is the father of her unborn child. Her husband believes the story and shoots the stranger dead. And this, say those around Query, is a happy ending for everybody.

A Burnt-Out Case – the last of Greene's great Catholic novels – is a strange and disturbing book. It is about being at the end of the line – literally for Query, stranded where the river becomes unnavigable; symbolically for the bored young woman, her smug and frustrated husband, the priests wondering about the practical application of a vocation, and for the huge journalist who knows he is at the end of his creativity.

The book also represents a crisis in Greene's own extraordinary career and often manic-depressive behaviour. By 1961, when this book was published, he had risen through journalism, published a dozen good novels, been an agent with the British Secret Service in Sierra Leone during World War Two, been a foreign correspondent and finally taken a trip upriver in the Congo.

A Burnt-Out Case is not set in the Congo – Greene makes that clear in his introduction when he says 'This Congo is a region of the mind... [it is] an attempt to give dramatic expression to various types of belief, half-belief and non-belief, in the kind of setting, removed from world politics and household preoccupations, where such differences are felt acutely and find expression'.

On his own river journey Greene was reading *Heart of Darkness* and despairing of his own ability to match Joseph Conrad's imagery. Greene's novel does manage some powerful and vivid images of Africa and the torment in an individual's mind. But more to the point it shows up the fallacy of treating any place, any people, as no more than an external projection of what one is feeling.

Why set the book in Africa? Why set it in a *leproserie*? – a place far beyond the experience of most readers, though as Greene points out there were then parts of Africa where as many as one in five of the population were lepers. At its most basic the *leproserie* is a brutal backdrop to the characters' lives, and a setting in which finer points of Western culture cease to matter.

But the leper colony is also, as Query delights in thinking, a metaphor for the sufferings of a man who despairs in the world. 'I am too far gone, I can't feel at all, I am a leper,' explains Query. Greene's own diary shows his pleasure in making the link between hero and setting which gives the title of the book: 'Leprosy cases whose disease has been arrested and cured only after the loss of fingers and toes are known as burnt-out cases. This is the parallel I have been seeking between my character X and the lepers. Psychologically and morally he has been burnt out.'

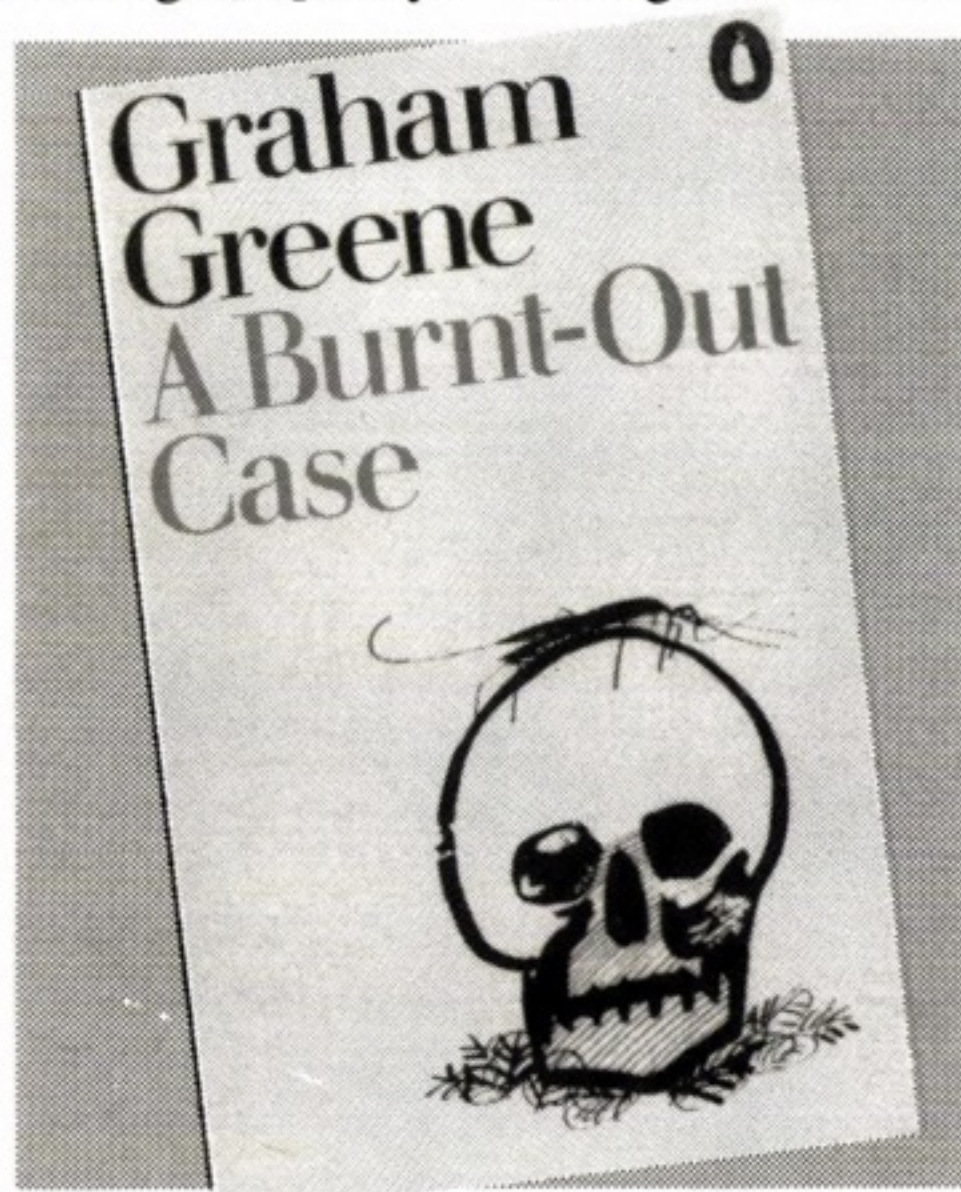
Ultimately Greene is mocking the belief in *Heart of Darkness* that by voyaging into Africa characters can discover their own hidden depths. The more characters in this book talk, the more they fail to communicate – the dialogue is riddled with misunderstandings. Query tells the others that he merely sat with his servant in the dark, so they believe that he was praying; he denies it, so they argue that his modesty makes him a saint.

One of the things I enjoy most about this book is that it is so down-to-earth: while people discuss ideals, they remain disarmingly human. There are few writers who can intercut ideals and action, the life of the mind and the life of society, to create quite such a satisfying blend – a technique Greene learnt partly through his work in cinema. Greene is a first-class storyteller and there is evidence enough of that here in this tale of a man so despairing that he cannot laugh who ends up shot because he is thought to be laughing at someone.

From a kind of despair, through vividly illustrated discussions of what it is that makes life worth living, to his hero's final peace with his life, Greene manages once again to make the reader think the unthinkable – that the hero's murder is indeed the happiest of endings. ■

Carol Fewster

A Burnt-Out Case by Graham Greene.

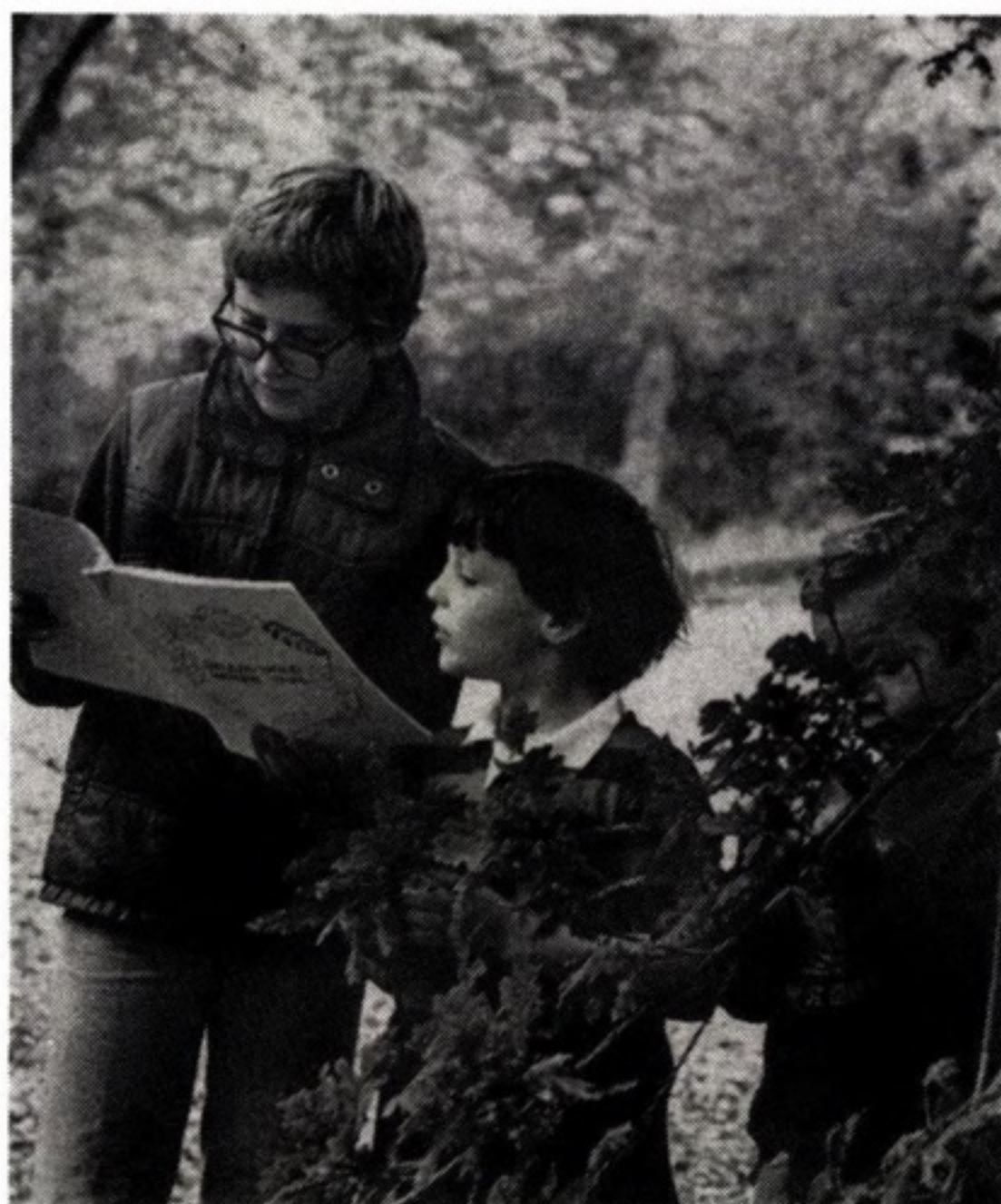




QUESTIONS

...that have always intrigued you appear in this, your section, and are answered by other readers. Please address your answers and questions to 'Curiosities'.

MAGGIE MURRAY / FORMAT



Are broad-leaved trees better than conifers in terms of soaking up excess carbon dioxide – and so helping to reduce global warming?

● Yes, in principle, because they are 30 per cent more dense than coniferous trees. But it may make more sense, in the short term, to plant fast-growing conifers such as spruce or radiata pine. These can grow to a large size relatively quickly – around 20 to 25 years. It

would take an oak tree 80 to 100 years to reach the same size. The oak would soak up 10 to 30 per cent more carbon but the time-scale required might make planting it less ecologically appropriate.

WS Taylor
Milton Keynes, UK

Is unleaded petrol more polluting than leaded petrol?

● Rosemary Thompson's answer in the September issue (NI 235 *Curiosities*) is wrong. Benzene is not – as she asserts – a fuel additive like tetra-ethyl lead. It is a fuel, which is burnt in the engine to produce power. And it does not pass through unchanged, as she claims.

The whole subject of engine efficiency is enormously complicated. Currently I believe that it is true to say that the best efficiency and the lowest emission is achieved by the modern diesel engine. Next best efficiency coupled with good emissions performance is achieved by a lean burn engine running on high octane unleaded fuel. The very worst efficiency (greatest fuel wastage) is achieved by a petrol engine using a catalytic converter. It is also the dirtiest engine in the first miles of travel before the converter warms up. The increase in fuel consumption caused by running on low octane unleaded fuel is usually less than that caused by using a catalytic converter.

Martin Bacon
Frome, UK

Can anyone recommend a book about trepanning or tell me anything about the benefits of having a hole bored in the skull?

● The ancient practice of trepanning still exists today, though under a different name.

Originally it was thought to release 'bad humours' from the skull. This possibly worked by letting out collections of pus or blood which would otherwise press dangerously on the brain. Some sufferers from migraine say they think their headache would feel better if somebody drilled a hole to let the pressure off, so this may have contributed to its original use. Today it is used for extradural haemorrhage – where a bruise forms just under the solid skull, pressing on the soft brain. Now it is called a burr-hole, and is performed with a surgical drill. I do not know of any book on trepanning, but any text book on neurosurgery or emergency surgery would have instructions on performing burr-holes. I am very curious to know why Dafydd Saer wants to know the technique. Does he suffer from bad headaches?

Mog Bremner
Mollymook, Australia

QUESTIONS awaiting your answers:

Is it true that the menstrual cycles of women living together in women-only communities (convents, for example) synchronize? And if so, why?

Zoe Simpson Green
Oxford, UK

How did the wretched term (economic) 'basket case' originate? Who used it first and in reference to which country?

Stephen Langford
Paddington, Australia

If you have any questions or answers please send them to *Curiosities*, **New Internationalist**, 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW, UK, or to your local NI office (see inside front cover).

big Bad World

ANDY W
R.POLYP

THE WORLD-STATISTICAL



POPULATION:

INHABITANTS PER SQ. KILOMETRE

- ☐ Fewer than 10
- ☒ 10 to 100
- ☒ More than 100



NUTRITION:

DAILY CALORIE INTAKE PER INDIVIDUAL

- ☐ Undernourished
- ☒ Adequately Nourished
- ☒ Overnourished



BULLSHIT:

QUANTITY SPOKEN ABOUT POVERTY/HUNGER

- ☐ Virtually None
- ☒ Enough to get under your skin
- ☒ You would not believe how much

* TEMPORARY - AS AT MID 1992

Guilty of nomadism

All Nicola Gregory and her family want is a hard and simple life – away from 'the madness of the twentieth century'. But that simple desire meets with complex hostility.

I AM described as a lot of things by different people. To the police I am a 'New Age traveller', to the local authorities I am a 'camper' or 'hippy'. To Douglas Hurd, the former British Home Secretary, I am a 'mediaeval brigand'.

What I really am is the mother of three young children whom I wash, clean, feed and teach from 7:30 am until 8:30 pm daily. My name is Nicki and my children are Jessica, who is four, Rachael, who is two, and Lisa who is one. Their father is Richard and, together with our cat and dog, we live in a beautiful old trailer pulled by a big old (and legal) truck.

We left our rented accommodation in Birmingham, UK, in a converted bus four years ago hoping to find somewhere more satisfying to live. We wanted a place where we wouldn't have to fear walking in the streets, where we wouldn't have to worry about our children inhaling heavily polluted air every time we let them out to play. We felt something was wrong, something was missing, so we went searching for that missing something and to our delighted surprise we found many beautiful uncultivated pieces of 'wasteland', many little nooks and crannies which had been forgotten about.

In these places we found other people – there were ex-nurses, engineers, carpenters, financial consultants, social workers and even a vicar. All were living in converted trucks, buses, benders, horse boxes, trailers and wagons pulled by horses. All were seeking a different way of life – a better way of life – away from the madness of the twentieth century.

Anyone entering a travellers' site for the first time must be prepared for the culture shock. Imagine stepping back into the sixteenth century, seeing people working with twentieth century tools. They'll be wearing colourful, worn clothes and often have windswept hair and dirty, smiling faces. There will be a fire heating a large iron kettle – someone cooking, someone singing, a mother quietly nursing her baby, children loudly playing and perhaps the sound of someone playing a whistle, violin or barong.

You will find a close community who look after one another, working with others to survive. Here the life is hard. Each day we need wood for cooking and warmth, and sometimes we have to walk far to find dead wood which we'll then carry home, saw and axe into suitable pieces. Then there is the water to fetch and the washing to do. These are our daily chores which have to be done. In warm weather these activities can be a pleasure since you get to see the land around you and watch it change through the seasons. The winters are not so kind to us and I've been through more than one I'd like to forget. But that is when you really appreciate being amongst a community. You have to pull together, everyone has a

part and all are equal. There are no thefts, no muggings, no rapes, no murders. The children are safe.

No strangers can come amongst us without being heard by the horses, dogs or geese. They will be watched, scrutinized and perhaps turned away. But they might also be led to the fire and given food to eat and something to drink. We are always suspicious of the police, the council and locals with shotguns. We have been hurt many times. So we sometimes hide. If we are seen, we'll be

moved and every time we move we have problems. We can't live on local-authority land but neither can we live on privately owned land – even with the landowner's permission because the council will say the landowner hasn't got the landowner's permission to let us stay! Often we can find places where nobody knows we are there for months. It seems strange to me that landowners don't know we are there until the council authorities, the police or locals tell them. Then suddenly we are evicted and the areas blocked off. Not for development but just to stop travellers from staying there. So where do we go?

Anyone who has travelled with children will understand the apprehension and anxiety I feel when we are forced to take to the road again. Not knowing where we are going or even which road to take, driving all day and night, looking for wood and water and wondering if we'll have enough

money left for food after we have paid for the diesel that we need.

We are often told to go to the authorized sites for 'travelling people' but these places are unsuitable for our needs. This was recently recognized by the Scottish Office's Advisory Committee on Travelling People. The authorized sites are no good for benders – the dwellings that many of us make for ourselves. They are no good for our animals. And they are no good if you wish to have the right to live the way you choose without petty rules and regulations and with the freedom to travel.

We believe our way is one of the most environmentally acceptable ways to live on this island today. Staying only briefly in places, we use the land only a little, and the land will soon right itself when we are gone. We make use of dead wood in the locality which makes room for new trees and plants to grow and we often plant trees ourselves. We bury our bodily wastes which will quickly bio-degrade and enrich the soil. We use water sparingly. We collect and recycle other people's rubbish. You should never be able to tell where responsible travellers have lived.

So why is our lifestyle being criminalized?

Nomadism is a valid way of life yet we, like this planet, are in danger of extinction. Surely this is wrong? ■

Nicola Gregory is currently living in Scotland, UK.



ILLUSTRATION: CLIVE OFFLEY

Ecuador

WHEN Charles Darwin visited the Galapagos islands (part of Ecuador) in 1830 to study their flora and fauna, his observations formed the basis of his theory of evolution – for half of the Galapagos' plant species and almost all its reptiles are found nowhere else in the world.

Ecuador takes its name from the Equator which runs across the north of the country. The capital, Quito, is the second highest in Latin America (after Bolivia's La Paz). The architecture of the government palace, the cathedral, and the San Francisco church imbues the city with a colonial flavour.

When Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro arrived in 1532, Ecuador was part of the Inca empire. Spanish occupants remained in control until 1809 when the local junta of Quito ousted the *audencia*, the Spanish governmental body. But it was only in 1822 that liberator Simon Bolivar's lieutenant, General Sucre, defeated the Spanish forces at the battle of Pichincha. Following a short period as part of the Confederacion de Gran Colombia, Ecuador declared complete independence in 1830.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Ecuador's history was



characterized by tension between conservatives and liberals. Quito-based conservatives dominated the Government until 1895, when liberals seized power and held it until 1944. This factionalism founded today's rivalry between Quito, in the mountainous Sierra region, and Guayaquil, in the

lowland Costa. The third geographical area is the eastern Amazon region called Oriente. This sparsely populated land is home to the Jibaros and other indigenous groups.

Most of Ecuador's Indian population lives and works in the Sierra region. With about a half of the country's labour

force dedicated to agriculture, Ecuador's economy relied on cocoa and coffee production in the 1940s, and bananas in the 1950s and 1960s. A modernized version of *huasipungo*, a system inherited from colonial times whereby Indians work virtually as slaves for the landowner, is still practised on some *haciendas* or large estates.

Ecuador is the second largest exporter of crude oil in South America and joins Venezuela as the only Latin members of OPEC. Oil revenues have subsidized economic diversification into sea fishing and shrimp farming.

Despite its location at the centre of the Andean region, Ecuador has so far avoided the worst effects of the drug production and armed insurgencies that afflict Colombia and Peru. Nevertheless, President Duran's administration is facing considerable difficulties created by the \$11.5 billion debt and growing social unrest sparked by the economic austerity programme.

Even though these problems pose a great challenge to the civilian regime, most people agree that Ecuador's democratic form of government is here to stay.

Alfredo Forti

AT A glance

Excellent ★★★★★
Good ★★★★
Fair ★★★
Poor ★★
Appalling ★



INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★

Poor land distribution increases poverty.

1982: ★★



SELF-RELIANCE ★★★

Self-sufficient in energy; dependent on imported food and machinery.

1982: ★



POSITION OF WOMEN ★★★

Male-dominated society, worse in countryside.

1982: ★★★



POLITICS

Conservative government.



1982



LITERACY ★★★★★

86%. Improvements in the past five years.

1982: ★★★★★



FREEDOM ★★★★★

Few political prisoners. Government observes due process.

1982: ★★★★★



LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★★

66 years (US 76 years). Improving but public health programmes deficient.

1982: ★★★

Leader President Sixto Duran Ballen
Economy GNP per capita \$1,020 (US \$20,910)
Monetary unit: Sucre
Main exports: Petroleum, shrimps, bananas, coffee and cocoa.

Main imports: Mineral products, chemicals, industrial equipment, automobiles, foodstuffs. Ecuador is the world's largest exporter of bananas. Agriculture employs about one-third of the population, mainly in subsistence farming. Food crops are rice, maize, legumes, potatoes, rye and barley. About half the total land is forested. Industry accounts for about a fifth of GNP; zinc, gold, silver, copper, lead, sulphur and other minerals are mined in small quantities.

People 10.6 million

Health Infant mortality 60 per 1,000 live births (US 9 per 1,000)

Culture Mestizo 55 per cent; Indians 25 per cent; Spanish 10 per cent; African 10 per cent.

Languages: Spanish (official); also Quechuan and other Indian languages.

Religion: 95-per-cent Roman Catholic.

Sources The State of the World's Children 1992; The State of World Population 1992; The Americas Review 1991/92.

Last profiled in March 1982

CHANGE

International Women's Human Rights
Publications, Advocacy & Consultancy

Country Reports forthcoming (£2.30/US \$4.50)

Mothers of the Land: Women in Nepal Today

Women in Argentina: Myths, Realities & Dreams

An tu Mot: Women Surviving in Sierra Leone

*Titles on Iran, Malaysia, Peru, Thailand, Uganda, Nigeria,
Pakistan, etc all still available*

Actbooks (£3.90/US \$7.50 each)

No Short Cuts: A Resource Book for Women's Group

Fieldworkers, New Edition 1992

Joy And Durability: successful women's projects

Thinkbooks (£3.90/US \$7.50 each)

When will Democracy Include Women ?

*\$EXONOMYCS: an introduction to the political economy
of sex, time and gender*

Unheard Voices: Iraqi Women on War and Sanctions

Demonstrate your solidarity with the International
women's movement and become a Supporter by
subscribing to **CHANGING the World**
our newsletter, too.

(Core Supporters £100 pa, US \$180;

Ordinary £20pa, US \$36;

Student/unwaged/Mailing list £10, US \$18).

CHANGE, PO Box 824, London SE24 9JS
tel & fax: 44 71-277-6187

coming next MONTH



DIRTY, DANGEROUS OR DELIGHTFUL Work – seen by Sebastião Salgado

If we can, most of us work – because we have to and even, sometimes, because we want to. Work decides how and where we live, whom we know and why we know them, what we do and when we do it. Work rules our lives – whether we have it or not. We rarely get the chance to stop and wonder what it is and why we do it. Next month's **NI** takes a break to look at work around the world through a different lens:

- The reflections of Eduardo Galeano
- The photographs of Sebastião Salgado
- The stories of Sindiwe Magona

HELP PRESERVE

1993 has been designated by the United Nations
as the International Year of Indigenous People.

UNA International Service (UNAIS) is currently
extending its programme in Brazil to include
health work with Indian groups in Amazonas state.
Health is one of the major problems faced by the
Indians today – the poorest section of Brazilian
society, their survival is being threatened by the
introduction of Western diseases to which they
have little resistance.

CIMI is a Brazilian organisation which has built up
a relationship of mutual trust and respect with
Indian groups. It has asked UNAIS to provide a
health worker for its team in Amazonas which is
coordinating primary health work and training local
agents within the communities, so enabling the
Indians to deal with their own people's health needs.

Please send me additional information about
UNAIS' work in Brazil, and how I can
make a donation.

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

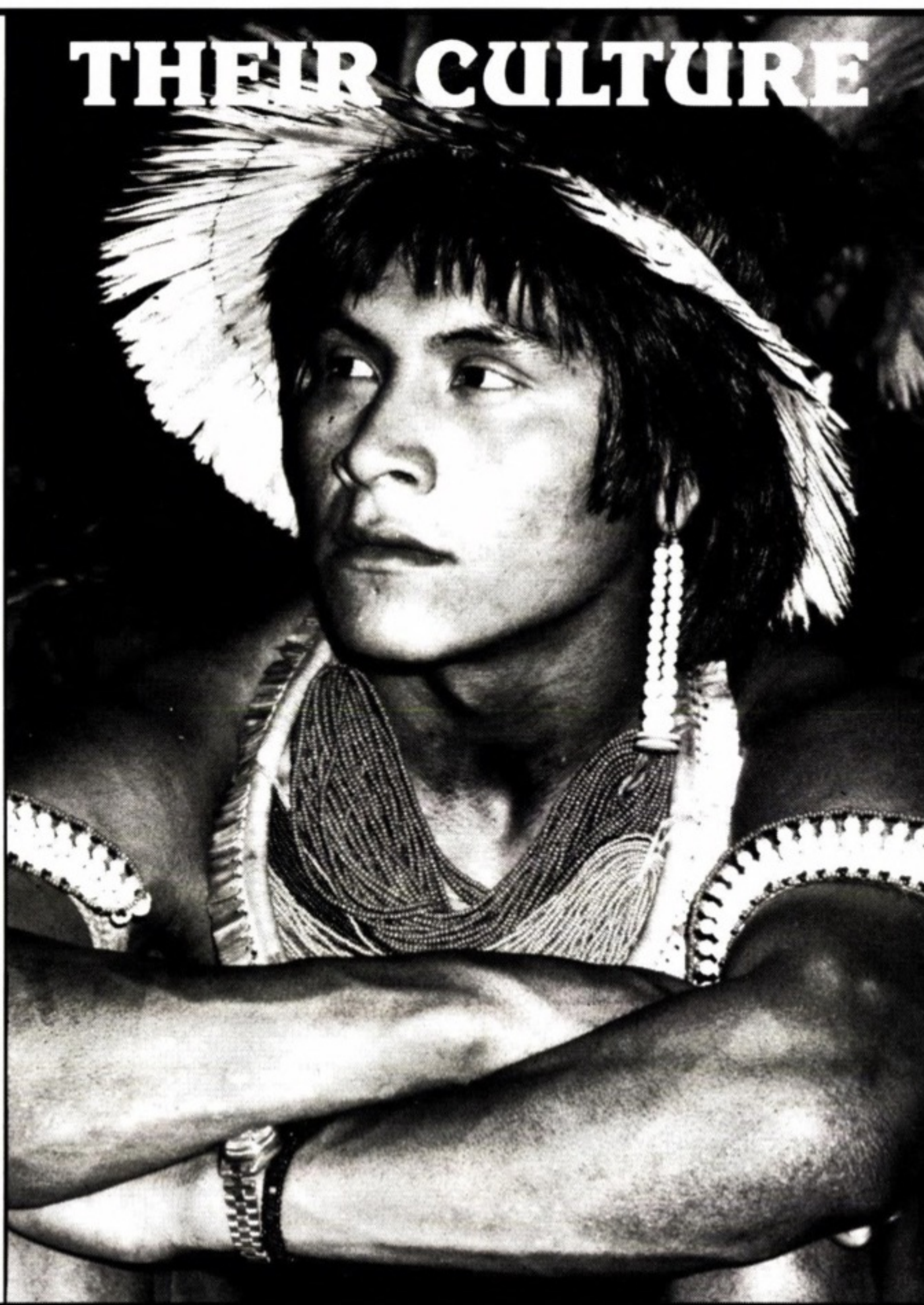


UNAIS

Please return to the Publicity Assistant, UNAIS, Suite 3A,
Hunter House, 57 Goodramgate, York YO1 2LS. Tel. 0904 647799.
UNAIS is part of the UNA Trust, Reg. Charity No. 256236.

Photo: Sue Cunningham

THEIR CULTURE



UK advertisers: £1.25 per word plus VAT. Minimum order 30 words – £37.50 plus VAT. Discount on three or more advertisements subject to negotiation. Copy date: seven weeks in advance of cover date, e.g. 8th April for June issue. Classified advertisements should be prepaid, cheques payable to New Internationalist Publications Ltd., 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW, UK.

North American advertisers: \$2.50 per word. Minimum order 30 words – \$75. Please contact Wayne Ellwood at 1011 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6H 1M1. Tel: (416) 588 6478.

SENDING PERSONAL EFFECTS, BAGGAGE, FREIGHT ABROAD? Contact the specialists. *Express Export Services Ltd.*, 143 Wardour Street, London W1, UK on 071-734 8356/7/8. Collections from anywhere in the UK. Goods shipped to all parts of the world safely and economically. AMEX, VISA and ACCESS accepted.

GALAPAGOS ISLANDS Sailing yacht cruises, Amazon rainforest safaris, and Andes of Ecuador with small escorted groups. Brochure: *Galapagos Adventure Tours (NI)*, 29 Palace View, Bromley, Kent BR1 3EJ, UK. Tel: 081 460 8107.

IDEAL INTERNATIONALISM

Ideally the whole world would be at peace. Instead of aggressive competition we would be enjoying friendly cooperation. Instead of the isolationism of self-interest, personally and nationally, we could have free-flowing association as between ourselves, our groups and our nations, with all that that implies. To realize these ideals should we not examine what prevents them: selfishness in all its forms, fear, bigotry, lack of generosity and above all almost total lack of appreciation of the importance of the spiritual nature of man. Spiritually and essentially all men really are brothers. Surely we ought seriously to try to realize that ideal. Write to: *The Blavatsky Trust (N3)*, Avalon, Little Weston, Yeovil BA22 7HP.

SERVAS suggests that you may foster international peace by becoming a traveller and/or host in its worldwide network of international hospitality and friendship. Please send a stamp. *North America and Canada: US Service Committee NI*, 11 John Street, Room 706, New York, NY 10038. *Australia: Servas Australia NI*, 16 Cavill Court, Vermont South, Vic. 3133. *Rest of the world: Servas International NI*, PO Box 1035 Edinburgh EH3 9JQ, UK.

NATURAL FRIENDS is a unique friendship/contact agency. If you seek other sincere people who share your important concerns, you can find success by joining our very large, nationwide membership. For full details, please send a stamp to *Natural Friends (NI)*, 15 Benyon Gardens, Culford, Suffolk, IP28 6EA, UK. Tel: 0284-728315 (anytime).

SAY NO TO ALL WAR. Join the Anglican Communion's movement for peace. Write: *Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Walters Farmhouse, Brenchley, Tonbridge, Kent TN12 7NU, UK.* Tel: (089272) 3962. *New Zealand: A.P.F.*, 4 Roland Hill, Glen Eden, Auckland 7. *USA: Episcopal Peace Fellowship*, 620 G Street SE, Washington DC 20003.

WORLD GOODWILL Together all people of goodwill are building the New Humanity. Free quarterly newsletter on New World Order, Africa, UN, Global Spirituality, Development. Papers on meditation, Ageless Wisdom etc. *World Goodwill*, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EF, UK.

NORTH-SOUTH TRAVEL LTD Discounted air fares worldwide. Tel: (0245) 492882/72.

Green Working Holidays



Desert Reclamation in Spain: Join our vital research, whether expert or starter. You pay from £49 and work 24-hours weekly. Sun! Shared purpose! Good food! Good company! Full details £1 from Sunseed Trust, Registered Charity, Unit-N, P.O. Box-2000, Cambridge, CB3 0JF. Tel: (0223) 467659 / 462244

Work for Peace

The **PEACE PLEDGE UNION** is looking for volunteers to help with a variety of work in our central London office (lunch and help with travelling expenses provided). There are also many ways to work for peace in your own area.

To find out more, please write to:
Peace Pledge Union (NI),
Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street,
London WC1H 0DX,
or telephone: 071-387 5501.

IF YOU ARE VISUALLY IMPAIRED and would like to receive **New Internationalist** on tape, could you please contact Vanessa Baird at *NI*, 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW, indicating whether you are already a subscriber or would like to become one.

TIRED OF RAINFOREST DOOM AND GLOOM? Read *TREES OF PARADISE* by Edmunds and Hughes. Crucial, positive action in Papua New Guinea. Send cheque for £7.85 payable to *Trees of Paradise, Post Office (NI), Lawshall, Suffolk IP29 4PA* or credit card 0435 882482.

LATIN AMERICA Low cost flights and adventure holiday journeys 3/4/5 weeks. Brochure: *Journey Latin America*, 16 Devonshire Road, London W4 2HD, UK. Tel: 081-747 8315.

PLEASE HELP US CONTINUE OUR WORK IN NICARAGUA: CIT works with grass-root organisations recruiting volunteers from Europe to transfer their skills. We are facing a financial crisis which is threatening to halt our work. Please help. For more information/to make a donation please write to: *CIT 7b Broad Street, Nottingham NG1*

THE VIETNAM FRIENDSHIP VILLAGE an international project, supported by ex-service veterans, individuals, organisations, from United States, Japan, Germany, France and Great Britain. Details: *Len Aldis, Brit Sec. Flat 2, 26 Tomlins Grove, London E3 4NX.* Tel & Fax: 081 980 7146.

1492 – 1992: 500 YEARS OF INDIAN RESISTANCE. Commemorative stamps, postcards and contacts leaflets available. Send SAE for details to: *Paper Drum, PO Box 57, Liverpool L22 2BS.*

THINKING ABOUT COMPUTERS? We are a small consultancy specialising in advice to small businesses and voluntary organisations. We can also supply you with all necessary equipment and services. *Appropriate Technology (UK) Ltd.*, 99-101 Pixmore Avenue, Letchworth, Herts., SG6 1QX, UK. Tel: (0462) 481888.

DEAF CHILDREN, wherever they are, need help and understanding. In developing countries both are in short supply. Please help us to increase both. *Initiatives for Deaf Education in the Third World*, 9 Church Walk, Much Wenlock, Shropshire TF13 6EN.

SOUTH EAST ASIA CULTURE, NATURE & TROPICAL JOURNEYS
SUMATRA, JAVA, BALI, BORNEO, SULAWESI, MALAYA, THAILAND
Full programme for '93. 3 day to 3 mth trips with Arc leader, flexible dates, ideal stopovers
BOOK SOON FOR OUR DEC TO FEB EXPLORATORY TRIPS FROM £149/WK e.g. CHRISTMAS WITH THE ORANGUTANS
Arc (NI) 21 Hooper St Camb CB1 2NZ
0223 327412 (24hrs)

A unique shop, to excite the senses:
Rugs, quilts, cushions, containers, lighting.



Craft made; skilfully designed; affordable.

OXFORD: King Edward Street
CHELTENHAM: Regent Arcade
WOODSTOCK: On the A44

one village
The World Shop



Organise your days with this unique photo diary

NEW INTERNATIONALIST 1993 THIRD WORLD ALMANAC

QUIRKY, sad, illuminating, joyful; 52 black and white photos, one for each week of the year are found in this photo diary. The week-to-view diary gives plenty of space for listing appointments and the cover opens into a unique triangular presentation for the pages to be propped ready to use. Size? At 4 1/2" x 8 1/4" it is comfortable on the desk top or in a bag. The spiral binding ensures the Almanac stays open and lies flat to write in. A really practical attractive and distinctive personal organiser.

Features include:

- An illuminating photo to enjoy each week
- Accompanying quotation to inspire or provoke
- Useful UN information on the world's people
- Dates of religious holidays, cultural events and anniversaries
- A fold-out personal budget sheet, for financial planning
- Full-colour world map revised to show recent changes in the former Soviet Union and Central Europe

UK £7.95 • Can/US \$14.95

Ref: 01228

For Christmas and all the year

THIRD WORLD GREETINGS CARDS

TEN beautiful full-colour cards, featuring two of each of the five best calendar photos plus envelopes in a handy wallet.

Blank inside, the cards are suitable for special occasions all year round. Save the bother of having to rush out at the last minute for a card, and economise at the same time. Such high quality colour photographic cards sell for more than twice as much in regular stores. Always useful.

Each card measures 3 3/4" x 8 1/4".

**UK £3.95 •
Can/US \$9.95**

Ref: 01244



SOUTH AND NORTH, EAST AND WEST

The Oxfam Book of Children's Stories

THE best children's stories go far beyond Snow White and Winnie the Pooh, in fact they know no boundaries. There are 25 tales in this world-wide anthology, published by Walker Books, including animal stories from Botswana and Indonesia, ghost stories from Jamaica and Vietnam, family stories from India, a creation myth from Brazil and many more. Each story is captured by some of the finest illustrators. Do you know a child who would like this outlook on the world?

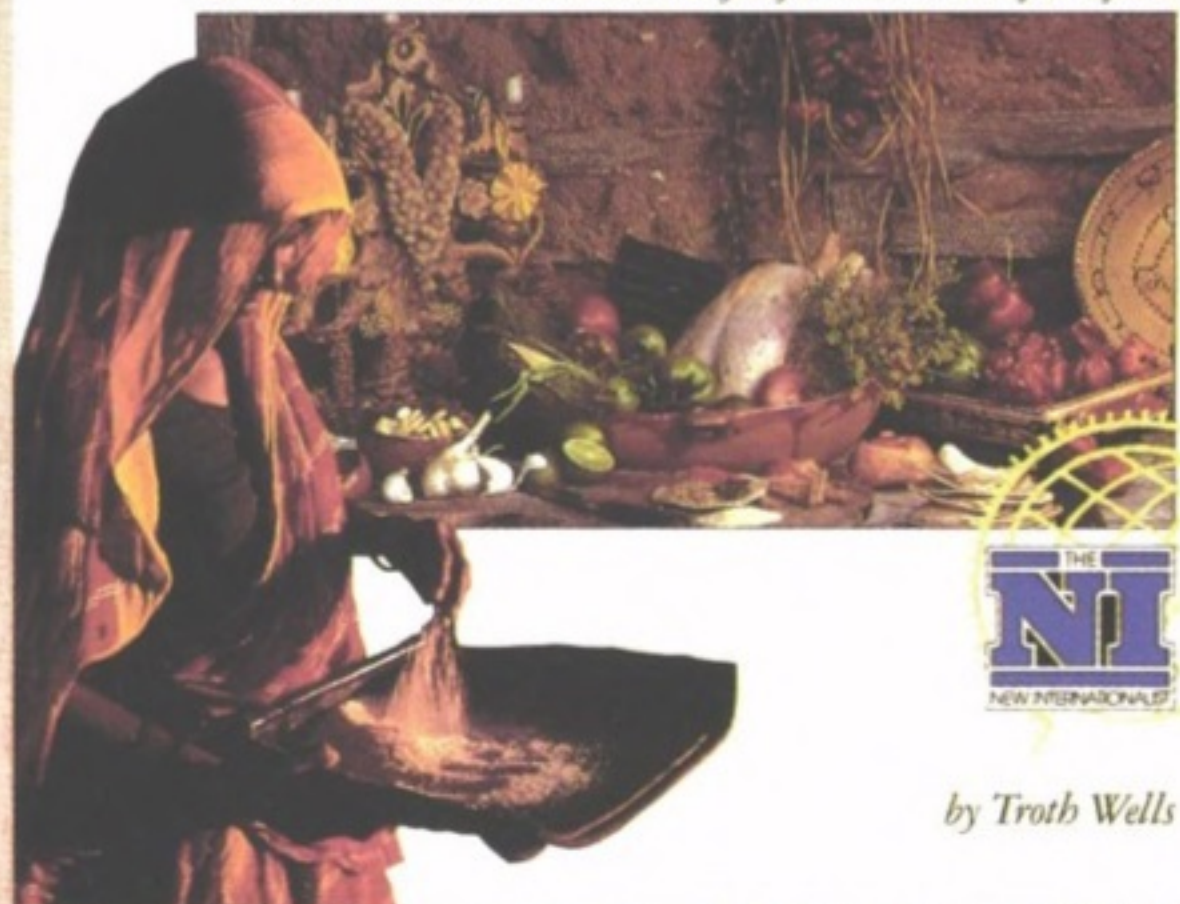
**UK £12.99 •
Can/US \$24.95**

Ref: 01279

Published to mark the 50th anniversary of Oxfam – all royalties will be donated to Oxfam-sponsored literacy projects.

The NEW INTERNATIONALIST FOOD Book

Recipes from Africa, Asia and Latin America
for Western kitchens with country information and food facts



by Troth Wells

THE NI FOOD BOOK

RECIPES from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East for Western kitchens with country information and food facts. This attractive wipe-clean hardback publication features over 200 easy-to-follow delicious recipes including sections on vegetarian dishes, meat and fish dishes, starters, salads and desserts. Numerous illustrations and 10 full-page colour plates. Over 20,000 copies of this book already in use!

**UK £9.99 •
Can/US \$19.95**

Ref: 01139

Canadian edition in conjunction with
Second Story Press



MOZAMBIQUE GIFTWRAP PAPER

EIGHT 100% recycled sheets of giftwrapping paper, Mozambican design, four in each set of colours. Measuring a generous 30" x 20".

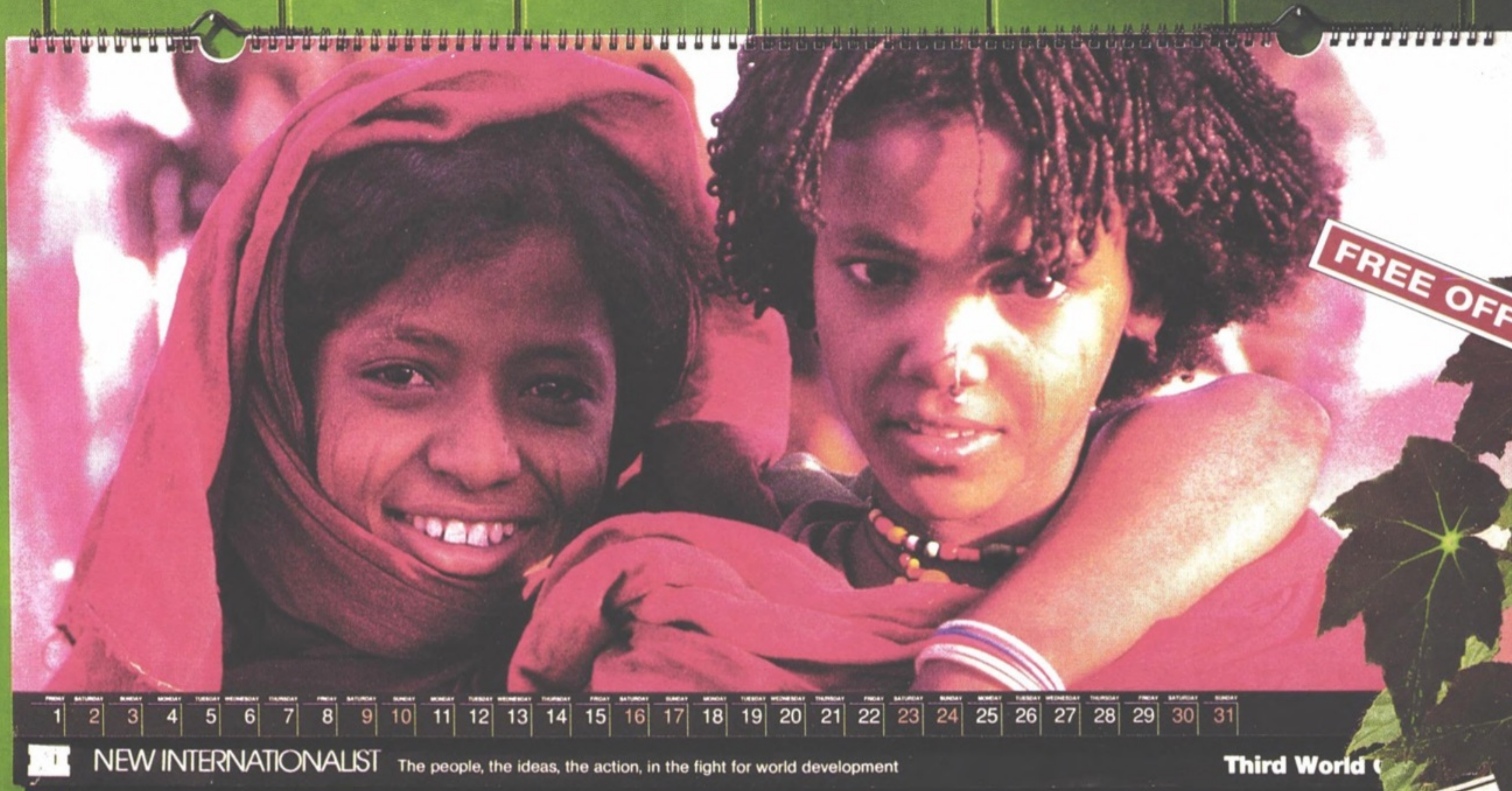
UK £2.35 • Can/US \$4.95

Ref: 02070

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

We are confident that you will be delighted with your order, but if you have any problem then return the goods for your money back, with no quibbles from us.

FRESH and EVERGREEN



The classic **THIRD WORLD CALENDAR** goes from strength to strength

THE NI 1993 Third World calendar is a collection of twelve lovely pictures by some of the world's best photographers. The images speak to the heart and to the mind. They show Third World people, their relationships, their work and culture as well as the environment in which they live. The visual appeal goes beyond the momentary impression, new things can be discovered over the whole month.

The pictures take you from the elephant fair in Sonapur, India, to portraits of the Yanomami – one of the last culturally distinct peoples of the Amazonian rain forest. From musicians at the festivities of the Bamoun people of Cameroon, to novice monks in the gardens of a Ladakh monastery in the Himalayas – the big, vibrant and positive

images are of people for too long regarded with pity or suspicion. This calendar is a celebration of our one world – to enjoy all the year.

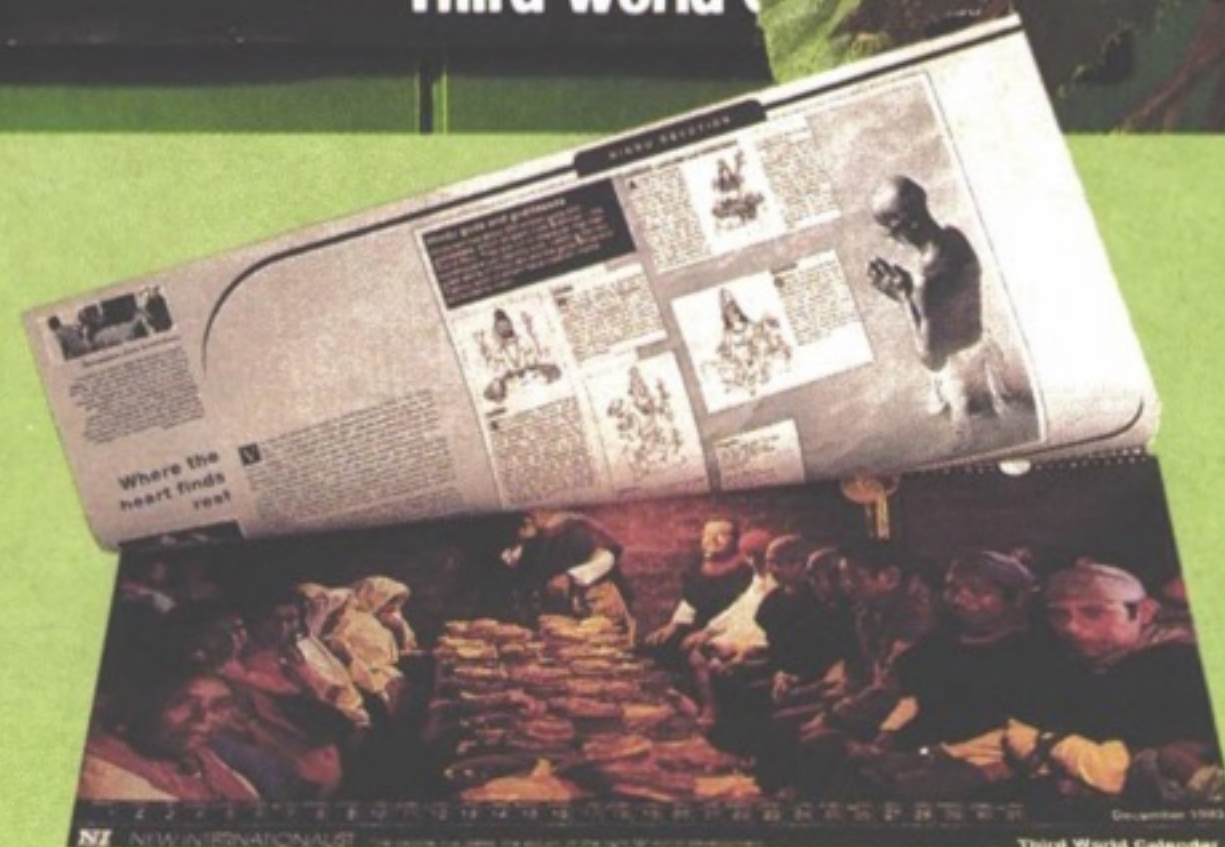
The calendar measures 11" x 22", and comes in a sturdy postal carton.

UK £7.95 • Can/US \$17.95

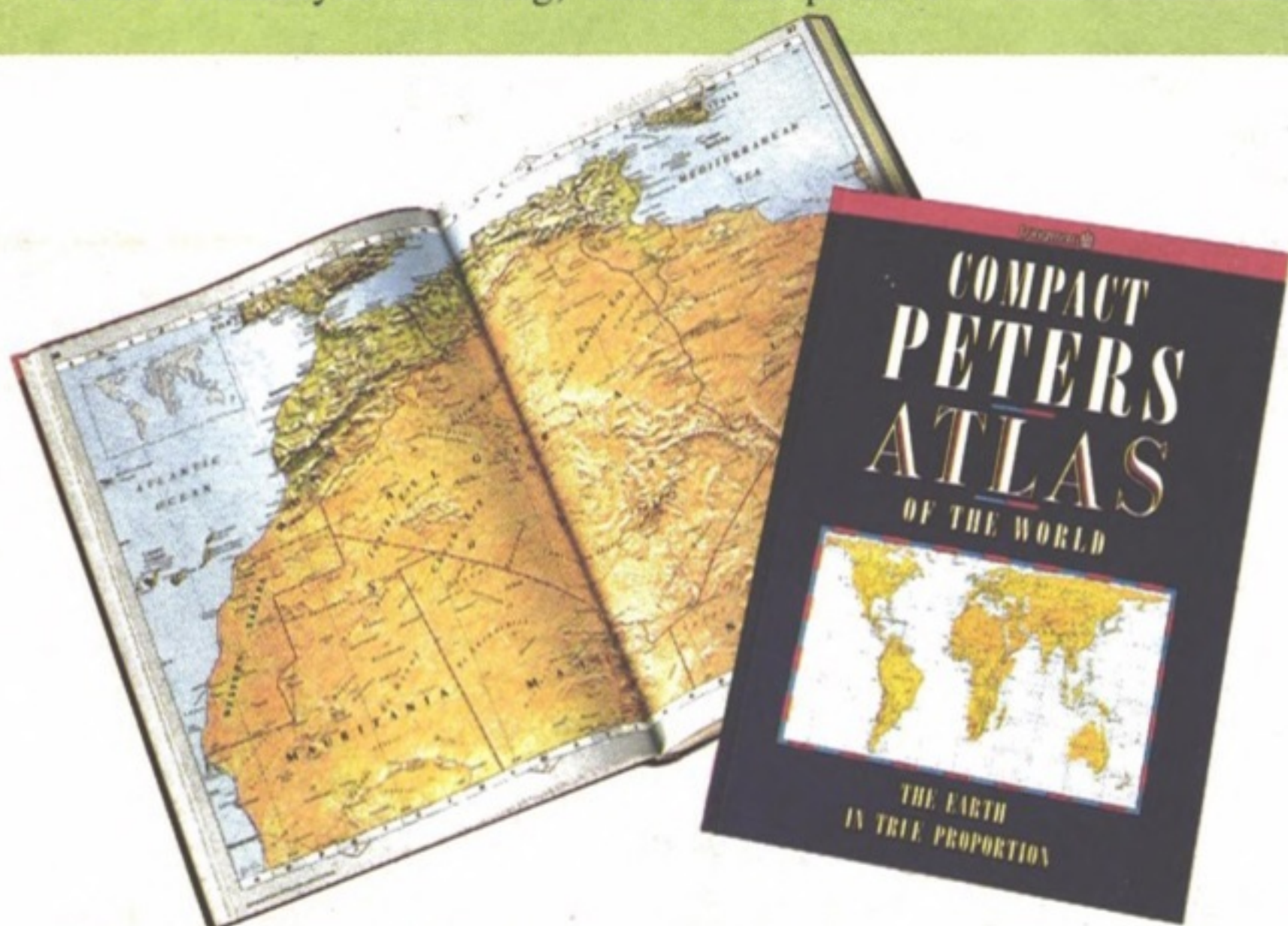
Ref: 01236

FREE OFFER

If you order three NI Calendars and/or Almanacs to be sent to one address, you can claim a free pack of ten full-colour Third World Greetings Cards worth £3.95/\$9.95 shown overleaf.



THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE provides a wealth of stories, facts, charts and illustrations which link in with the front-side colour photo; including West African art and architecture, Yemeni households and how they function, world music with profiles of the distinctive sounds of nine regions, and a profile of Hinduism – with its 330 million gods.



COMPACT PETERS ATLAS OF THE WORLD

THE first atlas to show countries according to their true surface area – unlike existing Euro-centric atlases. Detailed representation of vegetation, mountains and valleys gives a remarkable three-dimensional effect to the maps. Every map is to the same scale, giving an instant impression of the sizes of different countries PLUS economic, political, social and geographical information condensed into a series of colourful world maps. All at a remarkably modest price. Such a reference work is a must for every home and office. With wipe-clean hardback cover, the publication measures 12 1/2" x 8 1/4".

UK £15.99 • Can/US not available

Ref: 01260

NATIVE AMERICAN CARDS

THESE striking sepia photo portraits are of the nineteenth century native Americans who bore the brunt of white settler excesses. Each portrait is coupled with an environmental statement, words that have resonance today including:

- 'Only when the last tree has died and the last river been poisoned and the last fish been caught will we realise we cannot eat money.'
- 'Whatever befalls the earth, befalls the children of the earth. We did not weave the web of life, we are merely a strand in it. Whatever we do to the web, we do it to ourselves.'

The cards are printed on recycled parchment-style card. Inside is left blank for your own greeting. Pack of five large cards, each measuring 8 1/4" x 5 3/4" plus envelopes.

UK £3.95

Can/US \$7.95

Ref: 01252

